

# SOCIAL FORCES

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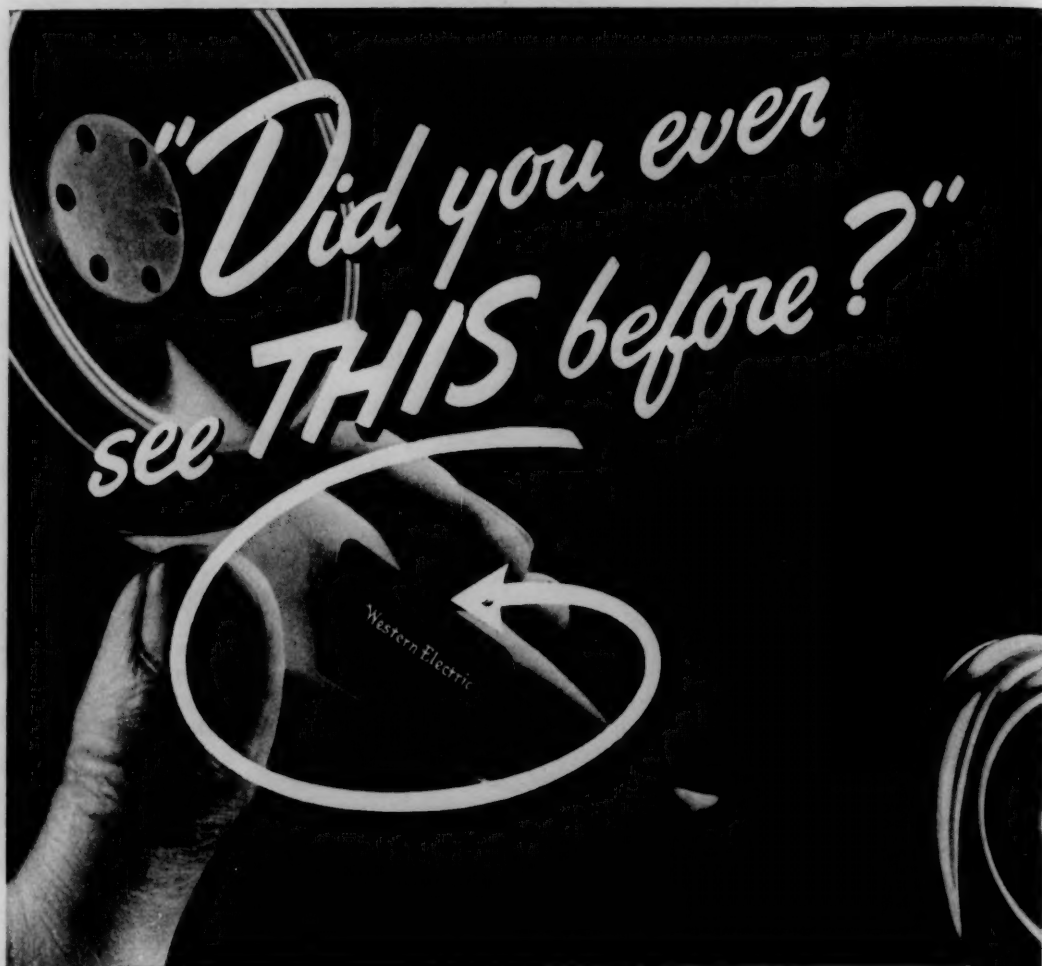
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# SOCIAL FORCES

March, 1937

## THE LETTERS OF ALBION W. SMALL TO LESTER F. WARD: IV\*

Edited by BERNHARD J. STERN

*Columbia University*

Chicago, Ill. November 7, 1901.

Your suggestion that anything I might publish might sidetrack what you had written was altogether too much for my dignity. I woke up last night laughing at myself in consequence. I hope you will send me the chapter to which you referred, and I think I can get it into the January number.<sup>1</sup> I had thought of making these three lectures a sort of bird's eye view, in an introduction of the whole discussion which I have now in soak, on the Scope of Sociology. I have cleared the decks for action in the seven chapters which I have already published in the *Journal*. If you say it all before I get to it, why heaven be praised, and I will scramble along to something else.

What you say about your *Pure Sociology* in the *Journal* reminds me of Jack Spratt and his wife. I keep a sort of journal of the different "wants" expressed by different subscribers, and different newspaper critics. Most of them want no sociology

at all; what they think is sociology is either pure statistics with no ray of sociology to make them mean anything to anybody, or else it is a sort of sociologically sugar-coated kindergarten literature. We have been yielding a little of late to the Philistines, but we shall even up presently.

Giddings' last book [*Inductive Sociology*] non-plusses me. He has a wonderful facility of "subjective interpretation," and there is a certain sort of stimulus about it, but I think it would relieve me to utter agnosticism about the whole business if I thought that sort of thing was real sociology.

"It is not and it cannot come to good" is the only verdict I can pass. Ross has offered to review the book, and I am glad to give him a chance to say probably much more appreciative things than I could.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Contemporary Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 7. (Jan., Mar., May, 1902), pp. 475-500, 658, 749-762. Translated into German as *Sociologie von Heute* (Innsbruck 1904). It was also translated into Japanese in 1908.

<sup>2</sup> The review by Ross appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 7 (Jan., 1902), pp. 557-586.

Chicago, Ill. November 13, 1901.

You can't scare me that way! We can take care of 30,000 words and still cry for

\* This is the final installment of this series of letters from Dr. Small to Dr. Ward over a period of twenty years—September 1890 to November 1910. The first installment appeared in *SOCIAL FORCES*, December 1933, pp. 163-173; the second, in March 1935, pp. 323-340; the third, in December 1936, pp. 174-186.—Editors.

more. There are a few people still in the United States and the rest of the world who want sociology straight and know it when they see it. I will get twenty pages or so into the January number unless my present calculation is at fault.

I had a note this week from Barth saying that he is getting out a new edition of his first volume, [*Die Philosophie der Geschichte als Soziologie*] instead of publishing the promised second. I hope he has seen some new light, and shall be curious to compare the revision with the original.

A note from Ross indicates that he puts a rather high estimate on Giddings' last effort. Two or three of our physical science men have looked it over and they pronounce it absolute drivel. I don't believe it is as bad as that, and I am inclined to think that his reading of everything in terms of himself instead of itself may serve a certain measure of useful purpose. I sized it up as a somewhat stimulating condiment, but a starvation diet if it comprises the bulk of the bill of fare.

Chicago, Ill. January 23, 1902.

I shall be very glad to have Miss Simons review Patten and will understand that you will make the arrangement.<sup>1</sup>

I held back the reprints because I assumed that you wanted them all bound together. Please send card saying whether you want a cover on each part. The sheets are printed.

I had a long talk with Ross Sunday. I think he thinks himself that he somewhat over did the professional courtesy business with Giddings. At the same time he has a very genuine respect for some of Giddings' qualities. I do, too, but it would be a vast improvement if he could look at himself with others' eyes a few minutes every morning. Perhaps he is not so different in that respect from the rest of

mankind. He and Baldwin have just been having a sharp tilt in which I have been most unfortunately and innocently implicated. If you have not seen Baldwin's short article "Social Psychology and Other Things" in the *Psychological Review* for January '02, [Vol. 9, pp. 57-69] you would be interested in looking it over. It turns out that I did not say *in print* what Baldwin quotes me as saying, and *did* say it in a private letter to Baldwin.<sup>2</sup> The latter calls on me to help him out of his scrape and Giddings summons me to repudiate the charge. I have written a "joint note" accepting full responsibility for whatever I have said but denying that I had any such personal animus or any charge of direct appropriation in mind as Baldwin alleges. Giddings writes me that he is completely satisfied, but Baldwin has not been heard from. I find that the psychologists are very sore on Baldwin. They say he claims as his own everything in sight.

<sup>1</sup> The review appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 8 (July, 1902), pp. 122-129.

<sup>2</sup> Small refers to the last section of Baldwin's article which read:

V. The Science of Society.<sup>1</sup>

To the Editor of *Science*: Your kind question as to whether I have any remarks to make on Professor Giddings' article on my book in *Science*, Jan. 6, leads me to send a few sentences which follow. I should not otherwise have done so.

I have no essential alterations to make in my book on the topics Professor Giddings brings up. I find in Professor Giddings' 'consciousness of kind' even more now than when I criticised it in the book, and for the reasons there given, the 'climax of descriptive vagueness,' seeing that I am conscious, in view of his successive statements, of a certain tendency to agree with Professor Small, that Professor Giddings uses 'consciousness of kind' as a sort of prospector's claim to anything which may hereafter be discovered. Indeed, Professor Small's review (*Amer. Journ. of Sociology*, January 1899) of Professor Giddings' recent *Elements of Sociology*, anticipates my reaction upon much of the latter's writing. When a third party informs one that one's preserves are poached upon, one does not mind saying one is oneself aware of it.<sup>2</sup>

The truth is that Professor Giddings' way of treating psychological questions, together with the sources of the earlier opinions upon which he is now attempting to engraft the results of later psychological research, are so remote from my methods and sources that I fail to find, despite the best will in the world much common ground for debate. For example, Professor Giddings says in the *Science* article that I just missed making a 'really important contribution to social science,' and then, seemingly goes on to make it himself for with his *Elements of Sociology* there was actually issued a circular calling especial attention to his 'important developments of sociological theory,' and to 'a new contribution to psychology no less than sociology'—*on this very topic!*—or, at least, on this topic so far as I am able to judge. For although I find what Professor Small none too bluntly calls 'poaching' upon the preserves of Ward, Patten, and myself,<sup>1</sup> I cannot make out what the discovery is. Instead, I find, especially in the chapter of the 'Elements' vague Spencerian analogies, and a show of novelty and finality imparted by dogmatic statement and the use of new terms.

Finally, I suggested that all of us, who think to do work in the borderland between two sciences, study to be informed each *in the other's Fach*, no less than in his own. I say this so fully aware of its home-coming thrust, that if Professor Giddings' colleagues confirm him in pricking some of my *sociological* bubbles, I shall let them collapse without a murmur, but the psychology—*das ist eine ganz andere Sache!*

1. Written for *Science* (under date January 10, 1899), but not published. I disliked the personal and judged Professor Giddings' review to be after all ephemeral. But he has now incorporated it in his work, (*Democracy and Empire*) and I change my mind and publish this.

2. On the whole Professor Small's article accurately expresses my opinion, even more now (1901) than when this was written, of Professor Giddings' work, and I do not hesitate to express this conviction, since in the present state of sociological study, sober, patient, and accurate research—with the temper of it—is the great desideratum.

3. To cite a case—besides those pointed out by Professor Small—in this immediate connection, Appendix D in my book may be referred to as putting in my way certain things that Professor Giddings puts in his way in the *Science* article. Even certain of my terms (as Professor Caldwell also notices), such as 'socius,' 'organic' and 'reflective' sympathy, are used with no intimation of their origin. In what he calls 'ejective interpretation and selection' I find, if I understand his meaning, partial statements of elements of my 'dialectic of personal and social growth,' yet stated—as is the case also with the other conceptions cited—in a form which I as a psychologist should not wish to have attributed to me.

Printed Enclosure:

*The following Letter is Self-Explanatory:*

The same mail brought me your notes this morning on the subject of the article by Professor Baldwin on Professor Gid-

dings in the current number of the *Psychological Review*. If the most serious interpretation of the issue is to be adopted, which I most earnestly hope will not be the case, there is involved a reflection upon literary honesty on the one hand, upon personal veracity on the other, and the prospect is that my fate as an innocent third party will be at best a certain stigma of duplicity. Under the circumstances you will appreciate my feeling that this stilted form of reply will do the most to set me right, and at the same time render the service due from me in courtesy to both correspondents. This letter may be used in any way, privately or publicly, which seems to either gentlemen desirable.

I have read very hastily Professor Baldwin's article above referred to. I was surprised at the personal element which it contained, and regretted extremely that anything which I had said could have been construed in a way which would make it violate the proprieties of friendly discussion. In my criticisms of Professor Giddings I have always acted on the assumption that he was too strong a man to be hurt by any fair blows that I could deliver, and I have accordingly struck as hard as I could, wherever he seemed to open his guard. I think Professor Giddings gives me credit in all this for my precise animus: viz., such wholesome respect for his ability that it is useless to hope, except by exerting myself to the utmost, to score any points against him. My reviews to which Professor Baldwin refers, contain arguments against some of Professor Giddings' views and methods, which I have not had occasion to modify in any essential particular. I have a vague recollection that Professor Giddings himself in a personal letter with reference to the earliest of those reviews called my attention to a possible implication of "dishonesty." After I had explained to him

that such a construction of anything he had written or said had never occurred to me, we have continued to differ in opinion with increasing regard for each other personally.

It now appears that Professor Giddings finds in Professor Baldwin's use of the word "poach", first, a reflection upon his (Prof. G's) honesty, and second a crediting to me of language which I did not use.

As to the first point, in so far as it is a question of Prof. Baldwin's meaning, I am not called upon to express an opinion. The term "poach" is one that I use rather frequently, and I might have used it in the article referred to without intending to mean by it anything more than "out of bounds", *i.e.*, plowing in a field that belongs more properly to another. Without referring to the article I took it for granted that I had used the word, until both Professor Baldwin and Professor Giddings wrote that I had not. Professor Baldwin tells me, however, that the word is in a private letter which I wrote to him at about the time of the appearance of the review, and which he had confused with the published language. The situation is obviously unfortunate for all of us, but the plain facts are the best means of justice. I must acknowledge full responsibility for what I have written, but I must beg both gentlemen to allow me to be my own interpreter of my words. I have not professed respect for Professor Giddings and then stultified myself by repudiating the feeling elsewhere. Allowing for the greater liberty we all feel in emphasizing to a third party our points of difference with another than when addressing him directly, particularly if he is a comparative stranger, I said to Professor Baldwin nothing that I had not virtually said in print; and his mistake so far as that particular word is concerned is immaterial.

Since my views have been quoted, I may add that I am now preparing for *Science* a review of Professor Giddings' latest book, *Inductive Sociology*.<sup>1</sup> I am speaking of it as the most important of his publications thus far, but at the same time I am urging the point, with reference to which I might quite innocently have used the term "poaching", that quite irrespective of the value of the work, but as a matter of division of labor, Professor Giddings is more largely in anthropological and psychological territory than in the field of sociology proper. Though I shall avoid the offensive word, I shall not modify otherwise what I would have said about Professor Giddings' work. I am confident that whether he concedes that the criticism is in any degree justified or not, Professor Giddings will find that the spirit of the review is consistent with the present statement.

If I may be permitted, as a friend and admirer of both gentlemen, to add a personal suggestion, I would urge that it would be well to take a hint from a recent celebrated case, in which it was discovered too late that "there is glory enough to go around."

If I can be of further service to either gentleman, I shall consider myself at your command.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Science* N.S., Vol. XV (May 2, 1902), pp. 700-706. In this review Small wrote in part: "Sceptics about sociology who on general principles come to the book to scoff will hardly remain to pray. They will pronounce the whole affair absurd . . . the work is primarily and predominantly not sociology, but ego-ology. Its vanishing point is not society but the individual. As we have seen Part I of the argument proper (Book II) is anthropology and ethnology. Three quarters of Part II must be classed as psychology without benefit of society . . . science will progress best if the sociologist sticks to sociology and takes his psychology from the psychologists instead of trying to be his own psychologist and *vice versa*. The second chief count against the book is that its organizing sociological conceptions belong in a



period out of which sociology has definitely passed . . . they are essentially the ideas of Schaeffle. . . . It should be admitted in extenuation that the only safe way to insure against the appearance of lagging behind the progress of sociological theory is to refrain from publishing a book—. The immediate quest of the most alert sociology is a conspectus and a calculus and a correlation of the interests which actually impel real men. This quest is completely readjusting the sociological perspective. It is making us feel that we have been dealing with the stage-settings instead of the actors. . . . With this perception to the fore, our venerable structural and functional sociology begins to look like a treatise upon the instruments of Sousa's band by a man who had not found out what they are all for. . . ."

<sup>2</sup> In the *Psychological Review*, Vol. 9 (March 1902), p. 185, Baldwin published the following correction: "In my discussion in the last issue of the *Review*, pp. 68-69, I made the mistake, in quoting from Professor Small's article in the *American Journal of Sociology* of attributing to him the word 'poach,' inadvertently taking it from a private letter from him on the same subject. As soon as I discovered this, I expressed my great regret to Professor Small, and he tells me that he meant nothing by this word beyond what he said in print in the article referred to. While therefore, as he is kind enough to say, the mistake is 'immaterial,' I myself much regret it, and take this means of publicly saying so."

Chicago, Ill. September 30, 1902.

Your good nature has always been so exhaustless that I venture to impose upon it again. Will you kindly at your earliest convenience give me your opinion of enclosed paper? Its author [Michael A. Lane] is the same whose book—*The Level of Social Motion*—I freed my mind at length about in the [Vol. 7], May 1902 *Journal* [pp. 839-848]. Since then he has written to me several times, and he appears to bear me no resentment. I have never met him, so I cannot be as sure as I would like to be about his personal equation. He wants me to give him my candid opinion of his paper. I want to fall back on your opinion as a check upon my own—not to let him know that I have consulted you.

From a third person I learn that Mr.

Lane, who lives on the West Side in Chicago, proposes to start a sociological journal of his own. He is said to be able to finance it. I should be glad to have a first rate competitor of our *Journal*, but I do not look for it from that quarter. I think the next few years will see a lively increase of sociological interest, and I look for rapid clarification of ideas. If there could be another *Journal* to take up the debate from a somewhat different standpoint it would help make things lively.

I hope your book will be out soon, for I anticipate a good deal from it.

Pittsburgh, Pa. January, 1903.

I should really like to see that letter, and see "who is who?" Either I was having a bad attack of aphasia or the people at the Macmillan end had landed on some sort of third rail before they undertook to translate me.<sup>1</sup> My reference to the monkeys was entirely in the line of appreciation. I tried to say something to the effect that people who had been stamped by the "do-you-want-a-monkey-for-your-grandfather?" argument, would find in your account of evolution a statement of the situation which would compel those who were capable of considering evidence to stop and reflect, and to inquire whether the supposed poser had any bearing on the question of fact after all. I felt that your rending of the evolutionary theory would make it intelligible to a great many people who supposed they had rejected it, but had never got near enough to it to find out what it is. For myself, I don't believe the evolutionary hypothesis is anywhere near its final form in details, but I have no question about the substantial correctness of its essential idea. I don't care whether our line of descent is through extant or extinct simians. If the "grandfather clause" troubled me, I see nothing but cold comfort in the alterna-

tive, of a lump of mud. As a matter of fact I don't see how we can avoid accepting both. My point was that sentiment cuts no figure in the case, and that you had in my judgment improved on familiar versions of the evolutionary exposition of the facts.

<sup>1</sup> Macmillan had sent the manuscript of *Pure Sociology* to Small for his judgments on its merits. George Brett, the president of the company forwarded Small's criticisms to Ward in his letter dated New York, September 10, 1902:

... Our reader's suggestions are given below and we shall be glad if you will kindly give them due consideration as they come from a man who without doubt is well qualified to speak on such matters. It must be understood however that we do not endorse in any sense this opinion and only submit it to you for such use as you may be pleased to make of it:

"There seems to me to be a slip on p. 251 in putting a little too much rhetoric into the stricture on the logic of educational programs. The statement is too severe and sweeping. The essential justice of the criticism will lose its point if the overstatement stands.

"I would suggest that in connection with the discussion of 'sympodial' branching—22, 311 et passim—he might appropriately interpolate a remark which would relieve the minds of the people who are not evolutionists because they can't be reconciled to the idea that their ancestors were monkeys.

"Also in his discussion of Comte's dream of parthenogenesis it might not be out of place to refer to Professor Loeb's development of the unfertilized eggs of sea-urchins as due to possible future discoveries of a more important character in the same direction.

"Of more importance than these details is the following:—I assume that there will be a full index of course, and I hope that there will be also a synoptic table of contents or conspectus of the material. Besides that I earnestly recommend that a chapter or chapters be added on the bearing of *Pure Sociology* upon ethics.

"I do not agree with the author in excluding ethics from pure sociology. Indeed I do not think he is quite consistent with himself in that exclusion (viz. p. 303 where he makes ethics 'only a department of sociology'). If he wants to make the line severely exact between 'pure' and 'applied' sociology, and wants to include ethics under the latter head, my quarrel with him is not serious. He might com-

promise by putting what I want, if he preferred, in the form of an appendix. The fact is that he makes on almost everybody the impression that his sociology is essentially archaeologic and static, whereas in his own mind it is essentially dynamic. In his zeal to guard the thorough-going scientific character of his system he virtually leans over backward and doesn't let people see his real objective. It would add greatly to the value of this book if he would show what it all amounts to as prolegomena to a methodology of positive ethics.

"He could say what he thinks on the subject of 'The Significance of Sociology for Ethics' in outline in much less space than 20,000 words, because the chapters already written contain what it is necessary to indicate. He could do all that by references.

"I hope he will give this suggestion due consideration for I am sure that the adoption of it would not only add greatly to the practical value of the book for almost all readers, and it would bring out his own ideas of emphasis and proportion and correlation."

Chicago, Ill. February 7, 1903.

I return the letter. I confess that the remark as it stands would not only mean what I intended, nor would it mean anything else that I can discover. My only excuse is that I was doing too many things at the time to do any of them well, and one of my slip-ups was evidently in this case. What I had in mind was precisely what I wrote in my last letter, but I was extremely successful in concealing it.

Chicago, Ill. March 23, 1903.

The article that you suggest is precisely what I want at this exact moment. We can crowd out plenty of less important things, and get it into the May number if you send it at once.

This gives me occasion to say that while I have absolutely no authority to commit our organizing committee of the Congress of Arts and Sciences to any specific invitations, you and Giddings will, of course, be the men designated by universal choice among the Americans acquainted with sociology for the two general addresses on that subject of the Tuesday of the Congress

week. Unless some convulsion of nature occurs, which I cannot foresee, this goes without saying. I hope that you and Giddings can agree about division of territory. I have written him to this same effect. My own preference would be that you should treat Method, and he History, for the reason that you have just given us a magnificent outline of the history and he has expressed himself so extensively on method. This however is merely an irresponsible exchange of personal preference at present, but of course it is authoritative so far as my own personal connection with the matter is concerned.

Chicago, Ill. May 27, 1903.

I had the reprints shipped immediately after receipt of your card. The voucher for the article was deposited in the business office some days ago, but I fear the check will not be sent before you leave. Can it be my good fortune to be on the same ship with you? I go on the *Patricia* of the Hamburg-American line that day, my wife and daughter with me. I hope that is your place, too. I didn't know you were going across this summer—or rather I remember you spoke of it in Philadelphia, but I had forgotten it. I hope you will have a prosperous trip, whether we meet or not.

Chicago, Ill. November 11, 1903.

If I am outside the grave, the hospital and the insane asylum I shall be in New Orleans at the word "go" and shall stay through the programme. I hope you will be there, because I want to kick up a lively scrap with you between meals. I have a little note in the forthcoming number of the *Journal* [Vol. 9 (Nov. 1903), pp. 404-407] on your title *Pure Sociology*. I should have sent you the stuff in time for you to insert a reply in the same number

if I had thought of it in season. There is also in the same number a somewhat lengthy review from the psychological standpoint, by H. Heath Bawden of Vassar [Ibid. pp. 408-415].<sup>1</sup> It was contracted for by my colleague in charge while I was away. I am going to return to the fray in the next number, in a short discussion of another point, which I will send you copy of in a week or two. Then we are trying to get a thorough discussion of the biology in the book, by some competent biologist. In this way we shall carry out your suggestion of making the book the storm center for a while and we shall be glad to have you occupy all the space you want in keeping up your end of the argument. Don't fail to come to New Orleans. I imagine that Giddings will make a statement with which we shall, in the main, heartily agree, and I wish we could join in reinforcing it in a way that will show that the sociologists have something to say which the historians ought to take into account.

<sup>1</sup> The review, which is vigorously and at times satirically critical of Ward's terminology, begins with the remark "From the psychological point of view this book is more instructive in what it attempts but fails to do than in what it actually accomplishes. This remark, however, is not intended as a wholly unsympathetic criticism for many writers in Sociology escape this failure only because they are not bold enough to make the attempt. The author's avowed aim is to ground sociology in psychology. If he falls short of attaining this end, it is because of the character of the psychological conceptions he employs. The psychological doctrines do not form a coherent view taken by themselves, and notably fail to articulate in any organic way with the sociological parts of the system."

Chicago, Ill. November 24, 1903.

I can't remember when I have had such a surprise as your note received this evening caused me. I had supposed that my appreciation of your work was long enough and variously enough attested to



protect me against being called a "mule" if I ventured to take issue with you on details. I may be "intellectually color-blind" and "incapable of clear thinking"; I may "prefer to talk without any effort at precision," but if so, the criticism is a two-edged sword. I must have had all these mental vices all the years I have been advertising your books, and it is a poor recommendation to be approved by that kind of an intellect.

As to Bawden, he may be a "degenerate." I don't know. I never saw him. He was selected to write on the psychology of your book without my knowledge while I was in Europe. I didn't read his review till it appeared in page proof. I have not given it any thought, and don't know whether it will hold water or not. I do know however that he is considered by the psychologists as one of the soundest and safest of the younger men.

After all I have heard you say about the folly of letting personal considerations cut any figure in scientific criticism, it is hard to believe that the authorship of this note is not mixed up in a comedy of mistaken identity. I had supposed that you were really anxious to be taken as a text and examined under all the different magnifying glasses that could be brought to bear. The charge of wanting to "down" the book is so far-fetched that I can hardly believe the evidence of my senses to the effect that you have entertained such a notion. We should make ourselves ridiculous if we carried out the program of a mutual admiration society. I don't know how a higher tribute could be paid to a book than you seemed to wish for and I attempted to pay—viz., taking it as the material to turn all the cross lights possible upon, from all sources. That means of course getting the severest criticism passed that can be brought from any

quarter. It would be a travesty of science if we simply tossed bouquets to each other.

I am going through *Pure Sociology* line upon line in my Seminar this year. My students are not mules, if I am. They are afraid of no truth, nor are they afraid to blurt out their dissent from anybody's attempt to formulate the truth. They find the book thoroughly worth studying, but at every step there are caveats. Now my idea of what the *Journal* should do in such a case is that it should get the strongest men available to thresh out the problems. Moreover, if the problems are psychological the proper person to discuss them is *prima facie* not a sociologist but a psychologist. If they are biological, the proper person is a biologist, and so on. If the question is of tracing an established principle of biology or psychology in sociology, then the sociologist has first call. An attitude that says "We sociologists must be allowed to have a biology and a psychology of our own, whether the biologists and psychologists will assent to it or not" is precisely the attitude which I have always supposed you must contemptuously despise. I supposed you said virtually to biologists, psychologists or sociologists, "Come on, gentlemen, pierce my armor if you can. If there are flaws in it, big or little, I am more anxious to have them located than any body else. By the time the worst is done we shall have an improved armor good for any campaign." I have another note in the printers hands which is a good deal more pointed than the squib in November. If you are going to continue in your present state of mind however I shall be inclined to conclude that I was mistaken in supposing that frank criticism is safe. In my judgment you are not at your best in the book till you start Chapter VII, ["Biologic Origin of the Subjective Faculties"]—with the exception of the brief discussion of *sym-*



*podial development.* My impression is that you have sacrificed accuracy and reality in the attempt to make the argument carry to an order of mind not quite up to it. Perhaps I am all wrong in this, but in saying it my only aim is to help brush cobwebs from the sociological sky. If I make more than I remove, I hope someone will quickly convict me of it. When it comes to biology and psychology I shall be silent and learn what I can from others. Of course, I have no doubts of your complete success in expressing yourself in a way that does you justice.

I have heard nothing from Giddings.

Chicago, Ill. December 7, 1903.

My answer to your note was dashed off in a great rush, and I immediately started for New York, returning Sunday morning last. On the train I penciled a few additional remarks which I will dictate just as I wrote them down. Meanwhile I received in New York, forwarded from Chicago, your second letter, and another from Ross, whom I had asked for an interpretation of the letter that so astonished me.<sup>1</sup> First, however, exactly what I wrote in the train.

I hope we can have a heart to heart talk in New Orleans. I want to say a few things to you that are better said face to face, and that I hope will clear the decks for some efficient action. Certain prefatory things I may say on paper. You spoke of jealousy, envy, etc. Now, assuming that we are capable of that sort of thing toward others, you are too big a man and we all know and gladly acknowledge you are too big a man, to come within the range of those mean sentiments in the mind of any American sociologist. You were not only ahead of us in point of time, but we all know that you are head, shoulders and hips above us in many respects scientifically. You are

Gulliver among the Lilliputians. Nobody makes any bones of saying this, whether you are present or absent. At the same time, it is strangely out of character for you to act as though you wanted us to recognize you as a sociological pope. We don't accept everything you say. We think you make slips like the rest of us. We think you are open to correction. But we think you are big and strong enough to challenge us all to charge on you with all our forces, and to oppose our attack with imperturbable good nature. Nobody wants to pull you down, and we couldn't if we did, but I for one think that there is no better way in sight to build American sociology up than to draw your fire in the liveliest battle we can wage. If you wanted to go into a cold-blooded business deal, you and your publishers couldn't do a smarter thing than by stirring up a controversy over your books. A book that isn't worth fighting usually isn't worth buying. Of course I know nothing of this Barnum order in your line, but practically the same thing is true on the purely scientific side. If there had been men ready and able to take up *Dynamic Sociology* point by point when it appeared, and to challenge it for every inch of ground it would not have waited as long as it did for its proper influence in the scientific world. It hasn't got there yet by the way. I found this summer in the bunch forming the nucleus of the new sociological society in London that you are apparently nowhere near as well known among them as you are in France. I don't believe there is a surer way to bring these Englishmen to their senses than by showing that you are considered the biggest game we can hunt in America.

After all, these are side issues. The main point is that there is no more incontestably ordained high-priest of science

among the sociologists than you are. You want the truth, first, last and all the time. You don't want it from your own private delectation but in order to make it as soon and as widely as possible part of the world's knowledge. Suppose we are all a parcel of fools for not getting at once your meaning out of what you say, and for not accepting *in toto* what you mean. You ought to be the last man living to give us up in disgust on that account. What scientific pathbreaker ever did find people all ready to accept him off-hand? It is only the man who has nothing in particular to say who can get ready assent to some catchy way of saying it.

My main purpose is to assure you that your best friends among the sociologists are the men who find it most worth while to take issue with you. You will do most injustice to yourself by assuming that they have anything but purely impersonal motives for so doing. You are in a position so securely out of the range of our possible ill-will of any sort, that all suggestions of the kind merely amuse everyone who knows the men concerned. Personally, I am unwilling to plead guilty of a spark of jealousy toward any sociologist in the world. I should go a good deal slower though in expressing all that I think about the work of some men than about you, because the hypothesis of jealousy might be less obviously absurd than in your case. My angle of approach, my field of work, the limitations of my outfit, are so widely distinct from yours, and your kind of work can help me in so many ways that the supposition of jealousy has no standing in court. I think sociology has suffered altogether too much from the tendency to build up an esoteric doctrine and to give itself superior airs inside its exclusive Holy of Holies. I am shy of any sociological formulas that haven't first run the gauntlet of unpying

criticism, both from ourselves and from outsiders of every degree. All that I shall ever claim to have contributed to sociology myself will be that I have done my best toward promoting that sort of criticism. Until I fall into my dotage no considerations of personal friendship are likely to stop me in that kind of work.

So much for my pencilings on the train.

I see at once, now that I have had time to reread your first letter, that you are right on the mule business. What you said, however, as to my inability to see a clear distinction remains. I don't object to your opinion on that subject at all, nor to your expression of it, only I question your judgment of the fact. I don't think it is worth while for me to write more, but I shall have a good deal to say to you further if we can meet in New Orleans. Meanwhile, don't for heaven's sake retain the notion that a desire to "down" the book is a reality anywhere in my neighborhood. What I shall say about it further may be very foolish, but it will be frank and sincere, and entirely in character with my generation-long appreciation of your work.

You will receive from me presently a formal letter conveying the official invitation to give one of the departmental addresses at the St. Louis Congress, [Congress of Arts and Sciences of the St. Louis Universal Exposition]. We shall have from Europe Tönnies, Simmel and Ratzenhofer.

<sup>1</sup> About this time Ross wrote to Ward:

"... Dr. Small sent me your letter to him accompanied by a brief note asking if I could account for it and expressing a good deal of astonishment, and pain. I wrote him quite at length pointing out the egregious incompetency of Bawden to grasp perfectly plain philosophical distinctions. I pointed out that not he but Bawden was the 'mule' you objected to and that criticism of the Bawden order can never advance sociology. His intentions are all right. He admires *Pure Sociology* and thought so

great a book could be made an excellent point of departure for discussions. I pointed out however that it was rather inhospitable to print this criticism of the greatest sociological book since Spencer's *Principles* before a word of appreciation has been uttered. . . ." (Letter dated Lincoln, Nebr., December 1, 1903.)

Chicago, Ill. December 10, 1903.

Whenever any competent person thinks the public needs to be instructed about my stupidity the pages of the *Journal of Sociology* are open to any extent. The present, so far as I am concerned, is a case in point but I do not believe your reputation would be strengthened by turning for its support to the judgment of a person who cannot see nearer to the point than the lady whose letter you inclose.<sup>1</sup> There was nothing in my note which in any way, shape or manner, called in question your distinction between genetic and telic. That distinction has appeared to me perfectly clear ever since I can remember, and before you explained it; that is, I do not mean to say that I had explained it in my own mind before you did, but that when I read your explanation the first time it seemed to me to express something so obvious that there could be no question about it. My point was that your distinction between pure and applied sociology did not correspond with the material that you treated, and that consequently there was incongruity between the title and the content. I may be all wrong in this, but my error certainly does not come within a hundred and eighty degrees of the location which your correspondent tries to fix. My criticism in no sense calls in question the distinction between genesis and telic, genetic and telic, but it indirectly asks whether you do or do not intend to make that distinction in any way a norm for your division of territory between "pure" and "applied" sociology. In either case there would remain incon-

sistencies that I am unable to explain away.

My point is a very simple one, and I think I can get at it in a way to be understood even by people as stupid as you have suddenly discovered me to be.—Do you or do you not mean to include in "pure sociology" explanation of every species of social phenomena? If you do, then the principal and the alternative titles do not cover each other, and the latter is in turn contradicted by your treatment. If you do not, then your classification of sociological material into that of "pure" and "applied" sociology either fails to cover the whole ground or it makes of "applied" sociology a combination of sub-sciences with which "pure" sociology is in no sense coordinate. Now I am either right or wrong about this, and I am no more anxious to prove myself right, if I am, than for you to show yourself right, if you are. There isn't a frazzle of personal feeling on my side on the whole business. I think you have a criss-crossed classification of phenomena on the one hand and of sciences treating phenomena on the other. I think that, whichever horn of the above dilemma you take, there is no possible way for you to classify Ross' *Social Control* for example, as either "pure" or "applied" sociology. To my mind it is clearly "pure" sociology in any justifiable sense of the phrase. I can't see how it can be called either "pure" or "applied" sociology by any consistent application of your descriptions. Whether I am right or wrong in this, doesn't affect my total opinion of you, or of the book, or of particular generalizations, or of any other consideration utterly irrelevant to the specific point that I raised. If to be misunderstood is a guaranty of greatness I can claim plenty of reason for believing myself to be as big as anybody.

I am glad to read what you say about the



review department in the *Journal*. There may be much to desire in it, but the principle on which it is run is simply this:—Whatever appears is not for the benefit of the publishers nor the pleasure of authors, but for the instruction or time-saving of our public. As our reviews are all signed, they can have merely the value of the individual judgment of their writers. Of course, if we have but one review of a book, one judgment only is represented. In some cases there will be nearly as many judgments as there are readers, and from that up to the rare case of a unanimous opinion. If you differ in judgment with one of our reviewers, quite likely a poll of our readers would show that opinions among those most qualified to judge would sometimes be with him and sometimes with you. I don't see how it is possible to avoid this situation. The only alternative is either to pass reviews altogether, or to assume that we get as honest and competent reviewers as are available, and to read what they say with such discount as can be made of the personal equation. I am entirely at a loss to understand how you have been led to believe that anything but sheer interest in advancement of the subject cuts any figure in what we publish. There has never been to my knowledge a line in the *Journal* that did not represent the candid, objective opinion of the writer. Whatever its faults otherwise, it seemed to me the *Journal* has earned respect for at least one thing:—no fear nor favor gets into our pages any expression or suppression of opinion that its author wouldn't stand for before all comers. More than that, it seems to me you have no right to imply that a book has not been treated with respect when the reviewer's estimate of it differs from yours. He may be incompetent. I don't remember any case in which I should be willing to concede that however, without a full hearing. That

we have ever treated a book or its author with less than deserved respect, I am surely unprepared to admit. The Worms-Vincent case<sup>2</sup> is directly in point. I had not read his notice, by the way, as everything in the July and September numbers was published in my absence and mostly without my previous knowledge. Vincent couldn't review a new version of Plato's *Republic* or the *Book of Jeremiah* without being facetious about it. There is a strain of the humorous in every piece of work that he does, and it is as much an element of his force as the edge is to a Damascus blade. I don't think it would be in the interest of science to muzzle such a man, and anyway "free speech for the man that agrees with us" is not quite our ideal.

I do not "catch on" to what you say about "French criticism". I can't remember whether I wrote or dictated the letter to which you refer, but my only theory for explaining the phrase is that it must have been in my beautifully legible chirography, which you unaccountably misread. Did I not try to write "frank" criticism? The only reference to anything French, that I can remember, was in the later note, in which I said that I did not think you were as well known in England as in France. Since you have raised the question, however, I am perfectly willing to plead guilty of more respect for German than for French thought among men now living, so far as our lines are concerned. There is more disputing about judgment, I suppose, than about taste, but I could hardly justify my opinion in a brief space. If there is anybody in France who has shown a stronger grasp of the social process than Ratzenhofer has, or anyone who can look deeper into the psychology of the social movement than Simmel, or anyone who can marshal the facts of social organization more sagaciously than Tönnies, they have certainly escaped my



observation. You are quite right, that in form the German isn't in it with the Frenchman, but when it comes to substance, the Frenchman, is, in my opinion, not in the same class.

As to the general situation which mulishness, degeneracy, and all-around editorial perversity are supposed to have called into existence, it strikes me that there are incidentally some symptoms above the horizon of more compensating interest in sociological thinking than has been apparent for some time past. If it is necessary to say the moon is made of green cheese in order to stir people to animation, I should say that offense to astronomy and dairy science together is better than absolute deadness. This flamboyant figure is not intended as a confession that I have made statements which I know to be absurd, simply to stir up things. I have said what, with my present light, I think is true, and I am going to follow it up with more of the same sort. I believe an ounce of virile debate is worth a ton of sterile admiration. I doubt if you will disagree very seriously with me in this when you give me the benefit of my actual intention. After all, do you really think that difference of opinion with you is quite conclusive evidence of unworthy motive?

<sup>1</sup> The letter from Mrs. J. Odenwald Unger dated Milwaukee, Wisc., Dec. 6, 1903, read:

"I happened to read the *Journal of Sociology* this month, when up at the Library, and was astonished to find two reviews of your latest work, both of which I consider entirely unjustified. As you have no doubt read them, I need not give you the contents: I wonder what your feeling about them is. It seems to me that Small in that short criticism shows that he has failed to understand one of the principal points, not only of this latest book but also of your entire philosophy. Namely just that difference between 'genetic' and 'telic' phenomena, upon which you lay so much stress. He blames you for stating in your preface 'that you must regard all phenomena as pure, which are unaffected by the purposeful efforts of man'—and that then you do

not by any means exclude these phenomena from your book. But only a few lines further down in the same preface you say 'Still, as the telic faculty is itself a genetic product, it cannot be omitted from a treatment of pure sociology, and, as I have shown, its manifestations are in one sense as strictly spontaneous as are those of the dynamic agent.' I fail to see, where Small's criticism comes in. Do you not think it is due to a failure to understand your fundamental thought there? You have yourself shown most clearly, how impossible it is to draw a line between the genetic and the telic faculties, how the latter takes its origin far down in the scale of life and gradually emerges clearer and clearer out of the blind struggle of forces, still it is a product of these forces and develops *pari passu* with their growing complexity, in fact is not completely severed from them, until it reaches 'social self-consciousness'—for even in individual self-consciousness, even in philosophical reasoning it is still to some degree genetic—as Nietzsche says '*man muss noch den grössten Theil des bewussten Denkens unter die Instinct-Thätigkeiten rechnen, und sogar im Falle des philosophischen Denkens*'—I have always considered this distinction, which you point out so clearly between the genetic and the teleological processes one of your chief merits, in fact it seems to me of the utmost importance and one of the things that has never been rightly perceived or pointed out; it is one of those flashes of light, of inspiration, if you please, which suddenly clear up whole vast fields of phenomena hitherto misunderstood. I consider it of almost equal importance with Darwin's discovery or formulation of the law of natural selection—it certainly appears to me to show lack of capacity in Small not to have understood it. The other article, too, by some Harvard [*sic*] professor shows lack of understanding. To me it seems stupid and uncalled for to pick to pieces a system, which elevates and overpowers and is of inestimable value just on account of its complete consistency, the harmony and interconnection of all its parts and the immensely practical and useful conclusions to which it leads. Would you allow me to answer these articles in bringing forward the grand outline of your whole philosophy, as I understand it, and pointing out its immense value for practical life—for that, to my mind, must ever be the test of usefulness of all philosophy, of all science and all knowledge (according to your own doctrine), how far does it further human happiness, how far does it help men to lead the best lives possible?—and though you invite discussion and desire to have any errors pointed out or even having different opinions given—if it shows lack of understanding of your 'first principles' it doesn't seem to me to

help much, but rather to harm your ideas. Perhaps you have already answered these articles yourself—but if you lack the time to do so and want me to try it—I will send you the paper before I send it to Small. If you think it presumptuous on my part, please tell me so."

Ward's reply to this letter read:

"I was so pleased with your letter of the 6th that I sent it to Dr. Small with whom I have been having quite a correspondence about the reviews. He has returned it with some rather uncomplimentary remarks. It is no use to send him any articles. He only wants adverse criticism. A change has come over the spirit of his dreams, and I can only account for it on the hypothesis that he is under instructions from the capitalistic censorship that controls the U. of C.

"Neither his note nor Bawden's review goes to the merits of the book. His point is a mere quibble and Bawden does not know the meaning of any of the words in the book. He has simply been employed to attack it. Such things do not perturb me at all. The bulk of the reviews are fairly appreciative and the world at large understands me." [Letter dated Washington, D. C. December 13, 1903.]

<sup>2</sup> A review of Worm's *Philosophie des sciences sociales* by Vincent appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 9 (Sept. 1903), pp. 263-269.

Chicago, Ill. December 19, 1903.

Acting under instructions from the Organizing Committee and the Administrative Board of the Congress of Arts and Science, I have the honor to transmit to you an official invitation to present one of the two leading papers in Department 16, Sociology. Enclosed is a copy of the preliminary programme of the Congress, and also a list of the European speakers who have already accepted. The latter are invited to present papers in the sections, while the departmental papers will be by Americans exclusively. The programme will indicate to you the general plan of the Congress. A memorandum containing more specific information will reach you shortly. Meanwhile, the lower half of p. 9 in the programme will explain the general scope of the two departmental papers. I shall be at your command in

answering any inquiries which you may desire to make. You are invited to present the paper on "Progress" in your department. It is expected that the other leading paper will be by Prof. Giddings of Columbia.

I am instructed to add that the sum of \$150 will be paid to each of the Americans invited to present leading papers. This sum is understood to be in no sense an honorarium, but merely to defray the necessary expenses of the trip.

Chicago, Ill. January 12, 1904.

I am enclosing copy of notice which I am sending at the request of Munroe Smith for use in the March number of the *Political Science Quarterly*.<sup>1</sup> I don't know how the note that is coming out in the January number of our *Journal*, [Vol. 9 (January 1904), pp. 567-575] will strike you on the whole, but all these things together are off the same piece of cloth and I want you to realize that I am in no sense "blowing hot and blowing cold," but that I am trying to say just what I think, and am consistent with myself throughout, although the subject is so big that I can only deal with different phases of it at different times.

<sup>1</sup> *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XIX (June 1904), pp. 318-319. The review contains the sentence: "The Illusion of the near' chiefly accounts for any failure by his contemporaries to recognize Professor Ward as entitled to rank with the world's first rate philosophers."

St. Louis. March 8, 1904.

I am very glad to have a copy of your review of Levy-Bruhl.<sup>1</sup> The only suggestion that I have to make is that I am afraid the ghost of Miss Martineau is likely to make you a visit. The epitome that she made of Comte was a very small bite of the melon, but after all it has served a very useful purpose and it seems to me that you ought not to have ignored

it altogether. As it was my introduction to Comte before I could get at the original, I feel a good deal indebted to Miss Martineau. I have not seen this new translation but I don't understand how he could have compressed into the space, if this one volume is all there is to it, as much as was in Miss Martineau's two volumes.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Science* N.S., Vol. 19 (March 4, 1904), pp. 376-380.

<sup>2</sup> Later Ward wrote "After this review appeared I received several letters criticizing my failure to mention Harriet Martineau's condensation of the *Positive Philosophy*, the writers with one exception supposing that it was a translation. The omission was intentional but was a mistake. I certainly should have mentioned it and pointed out how far it falls short of a translation. That is not to say that it is not an admirable piece of work, but it has probably prevented a full translation from being made." *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, Vol. 6, p. 168.

Chicago, Ill. March 24, 1904.

Your *Contemporary Sociology* looks a little strange under its German title, *Soziologie von Heute* but I am delighted that the Germans are beginning to catch on. I had an opportunity to use the fact of this translation to point a moral with apparent good effect in talking with the five German professors who have been visiting us this week. They were not at all slow to acknowledge that Americans must be counted with in an increasing number of the departments of knowledge.

Professor Newcomb writes me that you do not feel quite comfortable in the position assigned to you in the Congress, but might prefer the subject which we suggested to Giddings. I would say to you, as I have just written to him, that the division of labor may be considered as a matter entirely open to rearrangement between yourselves. It merely appeared to me that in all probability the suggestion originally made would on the whole meet the preferences of both, rather than the reverse arrangement. If you should mu-

tually agree to exchange subjects, that would be entirely within your rights.

Chicago, Ill. August 8, 1904.

I have not been quite satisfied with the world since you decided not to take part in the St. Louis Congress. I supposed we had offered you the place which you would find most agreeable and was very sorry that it did not appeal to you.<sup>1</sup> I hope it is not too late to remedy the matter. We have just been informed that for family reasons Tönnies is obliged to withdraw from Department 16, section b, Social Structure. I hope you will be willing to accept the invitation to take his place. As you will see at a glance the division of Department 16, Sociology, into the sections (a) Demography, (b) Social Structure, (c) Social Psychology, represents nobody on earth so far as I am informed. It is the result of a sort of glacial action, which at one time threatened to be frosty enough to freeze out Sociology altogether. Nevertheless, it leaves section b in such shape that you could talk about anything you please. I have an advanced copy of Ratzenhofer's paper, in which, by the way, he refers most appreciatively to you, and he discusses Problems in Sociology. That would leave the field open to you to discuss the Relation of Sociology to other Departments of Science.

One of your reasons for not feeling able to take the other subject was that you did not feel equal to the task of going over the literature involved. This subject would call for no such review, and the things that you would have to say on the subject are, I am sure, so clearly formulated in your own mind, that I hope you would have only a minimum of labor in putting them into shape for this purpose.<sup>2</sup>

If you are willing to do this I shall hope that you will also be willing to speak ten minutes in section c, Social Psychology,



on the subject of Tarde's services to the Science. I think I told you earlier that the Congress appropriates the sum of \$150. for the expenses of each American speaker. I most earnestly hope that you will be able to accept the present invitation.

<sup>1</sup> Ward's sentiments in reference to this invitation are revealed in a letter to Ross:

"... You speak of seeing me in St. Louis. Have you received the final program of the Congress? If so you have doubtless noted that my name does not appear. I told Small I could not properly prepare an address on the history and progress of sociology, and he kept intimating that I could treat the fundamental conceptions. Newcomb called on me and made me promise to do this, but when he told Small about it, the latter promptly notified him that it had been assigned to Giddings. I immediately declined to do the other, and that was the end of it. It is evident now that he would not have let me do it anyhow, and that he was only prevaricating all the time. He is running the Congress on the same principle as the *Am. Journ. of Sociol.* I am not considered sound on fundamental concepts. I could do no harm with the drudgery work of bibliography, and was to be tucked away in a safe place, but in such a manner that foreign sociologists would not be surprised at my being ignored. They can now be told that I was invited but declined...." [Letter dated Washington, D. C., July 3, 1904.]

Ross sought to temper Ward's wrath against Small:

"I am much dismayed too at the mistrust growing up in your mind against Small. He was the first teacher in America to take up your ideas and I do not for a moment conceive either that he is less appreciative of your work or that he has received orders from higher up, to depreciate it. It does not appeal to me as reasonable that the authorities of the University of Chicago would interest themselves in heading off the diffusion of such general ideas as sociologists deal in. They can see in them no concrete menace to property or to the Standard Oil monopoly.

"Then too it seems to me a pity to alienate Small, unless it is unavoidable, for it stops up one of the important means by which your ideas get into the heads of University students and thence circulate through the public...." [Letter dated Lincoln, Nebr. July 7, 1904.]

To this Ward replied:

"No one could have been as loathe to give Small up as I. I do not think his instincts have changed,

but he no longer owns himself. I do not of course suppose that Rockefeller or Yerkes descend to petty censorship, but such things are always put into the hands of some clique of small men adapted to manage them, such, for example, as Mrs. Stanford's San Francisco advisors, and the institution is at the mercy of these. I no longer doubt that *Pure Sociology* has thus been put on the *Index Prohibitus*, and can almost fix the date at which it was done. Bawden was hired to write it down and Small was instructed to follow suit. Hence the four sniveling attacks on it, which constitute the whole of the great things that were promised when that 'group of writers' should take it up and discuss its principles. No principle has yet been touched, except it be where Small declared that the law of parsimony was in conflict with the doctrine of the prodigality of nature—just such point as one might expect a penny-a-line newspaper reporter to make against a book. The whole thing is a fiasco—*mons laboraret*." [Letter dated Washington, D. C., July 11, 1904.]

<sup>2</sup> Ward, suspecting that this invitation was the result of pressure by Ross on Small, queried Ross before accepting and received the following reply:

"I haven't written anything to Small about you or the programs of the Congresses at St. Louis, so Small's invitation can be relied on as spontaneous. I do hope you will consent to appear on the program partly because your absence will be a damage to American sociology, partly because it will give me an opportunity of seeing you. There is no principle at stake in the matter and it would be a great pity for the harmony and cheerful cooperation that has hitherto characterized American sociologists to cease." [Letter dated Auburn, Nebr., August 15, 1904.]

Ward gives an account of the incident and the subsequent Congress in *Glimpses of the Cosmos*, Vol. 6, pp. 201-203.

Chicago, Ill. August 24, 1904.

Your note at hand. I am very greatly pleased. You have the programme correctly in mind, namely, forty-five minutes on Social Structure and ten minutes on Tarde. An exact programme containing all the details will appear later. The present plan is for the Social Structure section to meet at 10:00 A.M. Wednesday, September 21st, and for Social Psychology to come on Friday the 23d at 10:00 A.M. There is a little uncertainty about this arrangement but I will give you the exact



information in due time. I send under another cover copy of the last edition of the programme, but it is rather defective. Another will appear soon.

Chicago, Ill. *September 13, 1904.*

. . . Curiously enough Tönnies changed his mind and is already on his way to Chicago and St. Louis, due here tomorrow night. He did not think it worth while to inform us of the change and we only learned it by accident through another delegate. We shall thus have in the section Social Structure, Tönnies, Ratzenhofer and yourself. This pleases us immensely because we had no authority to invite more than two leading speakers in a section, but in several cases without action on our part there will be three. I am particularly pleased that this happens in one of the sociology sections.

I shall have the papers of Vincent,<sup>1</sup> Giddings<sup>2</sup> and Ratzenhofer<sup>3</sup> in the September number of the *Journal*, which we shall not release until September 24th. I hope I may count on the papers of yourself,<sup>4</sup> Ross,<sup>5</sup> Thomas<sup>6</sup> and Tönnies<sup>7</sup> for use in the November number.

<sup>1</sup> "The Development of Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. X, (Sept. 1904), pp. 145-160.

<sup>2</sup> "The Concepts and Methods of Sociology," *Ibid.*, Vol. X (Sept. 1904), pp. 161-176.

<sup>3</sup> "The Problems of Sociology," *Ibid.*, Vol. X (Sept. 1904), pp. 177-188.

<sup>4</sup> "The Evolution of Social Structures," *Ibid.*, Vol. X (March 1905), pp. 589-605.

<sup>5</sup> "The Present Problems of Social Psychology," *Ibid.*, Vol. X (January 1905), pp. 456-472.

<sup>6</sup> "The Province of Social Psychology," *Ibid.*, Vol. X (January 1905), pp. 445-455.

<sup>7</sup> "The Present Problems of Social Structure," *Ibid.*, Vol. X (March, 1905), pp. 569-588.

Chicago, Ill. *October 25, 1904.*

. . . The report about Ratzenhofer is unfortunately correct.<sup>1</sup> I have had confirmation of it by letter, but as yet no

particulars. I am glad to know of the pamphlet to which you refer and will send for it at once.

<sup>1</sup> Ratzenhofer died on his return voyage.

Chicago, Ill. *December 10, 1904.*

I hope it will not surprise you when I say that I am nearly as much delighted with Gumpłowicz's article as you must have been.<sup>1</sup> As you probably know, I have never taken Gumpłowicz as seriously as others of our guild in America seem to have done, but this confession of his will do a lot of good among the Germans. They get at it slow but even they are amenable to ideas. Now I think this paper is important enough to be used as a campaign document in our *Journal*. I shall be glad to do anything I can to circulate the discovery which Americans made long ago. It will doubtless spread the news among Americans and will get a move on the English. I am not quite sure that I can make a transfer which will let the paper into the January number but will do so if possible. I wish you would give me the exact phrases which he translates from *Dynamic Sociology* and the references to the pages. That will save me a little time. Also if you can give me another copy of the *Independent* of last March containing your article,<sup>2</sup> it will save mine from the printer. If you have no more copies I will run the risk. I certainly congratulate you on this episode as *Die Zeit* has a splendid circulation all over Europe.

<sup>1</sup> Gumpłowicz in a genial bantering article acknowledged that Ward during his visit to Graz the previous summer had convinced him to change his views on the questions of the individual as an agent of social change and the historical reality of polygenesis. *Die Zeit* (Vienna), Vol. 9 (August 20, 1904), pp. 86-89. The intimacy of Ward and Gumpłowicz is revealed in *The Letters of Ludwig Gumpłowicz to Lester F. Ward*, edited by Bernhard J. Stern (Leipzig 1933).

<sup>2</sup> "Herbert Spencer's Sociology," *Independent*, Vol. 56 (March 31, 1904), pp. 730-734.

Chicago, Ill. March 7, 1905.

. . . On calculating our space I found that I should have to abbreviate the Gumpłowicz article by omitting his quotation of your paper on Herbert Spencer. Otherwise, I have quoted him in full, and the article will appear in the forthcoming number.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "An Austrian Appreciation of Lester F. Ward," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 10 (March 1905), pp. 643-653.

Chicago, Ill. October 23, 1905.

I am terribly sorry to disappoint you all round, but the fact is that you will look in vain in my book [*General Sociology*, Chicago 1905] for anything but high appreciation of your value to sociology. I have not by any means said all that I think in that direction, but everything that I have said is in the line of expressing indebtedness rather than exploiting any of my dissents as to details.<sup>1</sup> You will be interested to know that Giddings has agreed to review the book for our *Journal*. I wanted to give a guarantee that I would not hide behind any artificial defenses. I want the book to be treated as severely in our *Journal* as anywhere else.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ward's opinion of the book is given in a letter to Ross:

" . . . I have some curiosity to see your reviews of Small's *General Sociology*. I have waded two-thirds of the way through it. I ought not to express an opinion till I have finished it, and I will only say that it is about the most provoking book I ever read. I suppose I ought to be amused instead of provoked. But a big volume filled with nothing but the things that you and I and the rest have been saying for years, only said over again in a verbose language which strains to avoid the particular words used by others and to palm off some other words for new ideas, is certainly exasperating. The words 'social process,' although both you and I have occasionally used them as variants, have become a stench in my

nostrils, and I do not think I could ever use them again. The ridiculous idea that his former pupil Hayes has made a great new discovery in introducing that phrase for which he, of course, takes the credit, is characteristic of the book, and, for that matter, of both the men. I only wish I had your catholic charity." [Letter dated, Washington, D. C., March 18, 1906.]

Ross concurred:

"I agree with you about Small's book. Having no quarrel with the matter of the book I resolutely shut my eyes to the form. But there is no denying that the cloudiness and prolixity will hurt the book with the public and may give sociology something of a black eye. Already I notice a feeling of 'If this be sociology Good Lord deliver us.' However sociology has endured many things like it and my faith in its ultimate triumph never wavers." [Letter dated Lincoln, Nebr., June 2, 1906.]

Ward wrote many vigorous strictures in the margins of his copy of the book such as "Poor Stuff," "Plagiarisms," "Bosh."

<sup>2</sup> No review of the book appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology*.

Chicago, Ill. September 25, 1906.

Your card gives me the pointer which I have been waiting for for some time. I understood you went to Europe this summer and I had not heard of your return; otherwise I should have congratulated you before this on the appearance of *Applied Sociology*, [New York, 1906] although I must confess that I have it on my table without having been able to do more than chuckle that it is at last out. I have no hesitation in saying that your four main books constitute, on the whole, the most notable contribution in any language by a single man to our incipient science. It will be a long time before what you have done is sufficiently assimilated for its real significance to be appreciated. I have asked Ross to review *Applied Sociology* for our *Journal*,<sup>1</sup> and I hope he will be able to do so. This is merely to congratulate you and Brown and the craft that you are in an academic position which I hope you will long adorn.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ross's review appeared instead in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 22 (June, 1907), pp. 256-258.

<sup>2</sup> Ward became a Professor of Sociology at Brown University in the spring of 1906.

Chicago, Ill. November 19, 1906.

I have just received the attractive little *Compendio de Sociologia* [Madrid, 1905].<sup>1</sup> It is not only a deserved compliment to you, but it is a sort of borrowed luster shed on the whole advancing subject. I congratulate you on the cumulative evidence that you have not lived in vain. I have said over and over again that taking into consideration the whole state of knowledge and of theory at the time I would rather have written *Dynamic Sociology* than any other book that has appeared on the subject in any language up to date. Of course everything that you have written since was foreshadowed in those two volumes. I go back to them over and over again, and feel sure that a century from now they will be appreciated at a much higher valuation than they are today. The subsequent interpretations and amplifications, like that in this little volume, will assist people who must climb over the foot hills toward the mountain instead of going directly at it in their flying machine. Howard of Nebraska has agreed to review *Applied Sociology*.<sup>2</sup> I had hoped that his review would be in hand for our November number, but it is not.

I shall hope for some chance to wedge in a little free conversation with you during the Providence meeting.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile, I hope that your new University duties are not going to prevent you from sending us now and then a paper for the *Journal*.

<sup>1</sup> A Spanish translation of *Outlines of Sociology*, by Adolfo Posada.

<sup>2</sup> Appeared in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 12 (May 1907), pp. 854-859.

<sup>3</sup> The first general meeting of the newly organized

American Sociological Society of which Ward had been elected president.

Chicago, Ill. November 27, 1906.

Yes, I recognized the *Outlines* at once in their new garb, and I meant to make that plain in my note. I was rushing to get ready for a train to Boston, and probably did not say just what I meant. . . . I appreciated the dedication in the first place, and am proud to have it appear in the translation. My reference to *Dynamic Sociology* was not because I confused the *Compendio* with that volume, but because I regarded everything which you have since written either as commentary upon that work or as advance in lines which it promised.

Chicago, Ill. October 21, 1907.

I have not received Ratzenhofer's *Soziologie* [*Positive Lehre von den Menschlichen Wechselbeziehungen* (Leipzig 1907)]. I did not know it was coming. I am inclined to fear that its publication was a mistake. Unless I sized up the son incorrectly he was not qualified for that sort of work. Behind that I have my doubts about the manuscript being in shape to do the author justice. I will write to Brockhaus however and will consult you further after the book arrives.

Chicago, Ill. February 15, 1908.

That promise of a review of Ratzenhofer was a plain case of selling short. I hoped you would come to time with the goods. I am perfectly willing under the circumstances to take the chances of being anticipated by the German publication. We do not intend very often to publish material that has appeared elsewhere, but we do it sometimes. If you will translate Gumplowicz's article, [on Ratzenhofer's *Sociologie*] we will try to get it into the May number as a review. If we can't do that

we will run it in July. [Vol. X (July 1908), pp. 101-111.]

Your flattering unction about my skill as a translator didn't touch me at all. I am simply out of sight beneath the surface of work, and could not in any case undertake more. Even if I could, I should prefer, and I am sure Gumpowicz would that you should put him into English.

I am spending my year on the Cameralists from Sechendorff to Sonnenfels, putting the chief emphasis on Justi. The book is to be a companion of the *Adam Smith [and Modern Sociology: A Study of the Methodology of the Social Sciences]* (Chicago 1907), and I fear double its size. Unless I am mistaken, it is going to change the perspective of the history of German economic theory considerably, and it is to furnish some useful prolegomena for modern sociologists.

P. S. This letter was sent to Providence with no other address and has just come back unclaimed. I hasten to forward it again.

Chicago, Ill. October 2, 1909.

The reprint from Vienna had reached me from Mrs. J. Odenwald Unger two days before yours arrived.<sup>1</sup> I had already asked her to translate it for the November number of *A. J. S.* It seemed to me that this was, on the whole, the best thing we could do. We should also be glad to add anything more or less which you would be willing to write on the subject. As you are the only man in the United States who knew Gumpowicz intimately, as well as for other reasons, it would be most appropriate that some reference to him from you should appear in the *Journal*. We should have to have it by October 11th if it is to appear in the November number.<sup>2</sup>

This reprint was my first intimation of

the tragedy. Nothing could be more pathetic.

I hope you have come back with renewed vigor. Perhaps you have not noticed that during your absence Sociology has been destroyed, root and branch by Professor Henry Jones Ford, of Princeton. For the obsequies see *A. J. S.* for July [pp. 96-104] and September [pp. 244-259].<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An article by J. K. Kochanowski entitled "Ludwig Gumpowicz" in *Die Wage*, a Vienna weekly, announced that Gumpowicz had committed suicide.

<sup>2</sup> "Ludwig Gumpowicz" in the *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 15 (November, 1909), pp. 410-413.

<sup>3</sup> The first article entitled "The Pretensions of Sociology," republished from the *Nation* had also appeared in the *New York Evening Post*. Ford there declared that he was perturbed by the fact that sociology was appearing as a sponsor for schemes of revolutionizing the family, the home, and the state. He contended that "so far as sociology differs from established sciences, it is an asylum for their castaways . . . thus sociology commends itself to people who mistake reverie for thought and feeling for judgment; who reach emotional conclusions from sentimental assumptions and who impute to their projects the merit of their motives. . . . The matter might be left to right itself if sociology preserved the proper scientific habit of reserve as to provisional and tentative conclusions. But since it has gone into the forum to harangue the mob, it is the duty of whom it may concern to follow it there and to give notice that it possesses no authority whatever. If anything is urged in the name of sociology the fit rejoinder is that there is no such science."

Small also republished from the *Nation* a reply by Ellwood ("The Science of Sociology: A Reply," *ibid.*, pp. 105-110), which Ward thought "more damaging to sociology than anything which Ford had said." Ellwood read the "social radicals and revolutionists" out of the field of sociology; he dismissed Spencer and Ward whom Ford had attacked "as antiquated, not truly representative of current sociology, at bottom anti-Darwinian" and "dominated by the traditional English philosophy with its materialistic empiricism and sensationalist psychology."

In his own attack on Ford ("The Vindication of Sociology," *ibid.*, pp. 1-15), Small criticized Ford for ignoring "the methodological arguments." This



brought forth Ford's retort ("The Claims of Sociology Examined") in which he stated his theoretical position that "... men did not make the state but the state made man ... it is an institution that existed before the human species was formed and was the instrument by which the human species was developed; ... the state includes society just as any entity includes its parts." He concluded: "The proper description of sociology I conceive to be this. It is a pseudo-science, which was produced by hasty speculative methods of applying natural science to the interpretation of human society and which possesses a methodological scheme that exhibits logical consistency, but is completely vitiated by the falsity of its premises. The greatest single gains that could be made in scientific progress toward the solution of the problems with which sociology undertakes to deal, would be to get rid of sociology, since it is essentially a false start. Those who yield to its plausible pretensions go astray ..."

His discussion of the state led to Ward's article "Sociology and the State," *ibid* (March 1910), pp. 672-680, which was first delivered as an address at the New York meeting of the American Sociological Society. Ward contended that the science of sociology was imperative because "Political economy had become a sort of quietism, and bade people hush and cease to disturb the social order. ... Political science floundered about among a thousand fine-spun and wholly improbable theories of the state. It was both politically and socially hopeless." With sharp strictures he criticized Ford for attacking him on the basis of *Dynamic Sociology* rather than on his revised views on the state as set forth in *Pure Sociology*, and exposed Ford's ignorance of ethnological and sociological evidence that the state was a comparatively late factor in social evolution.

Chicago, Ill. October 8, 1909.

Your tribute to Gumplowicz is at hand. I will see that you have the reprints.

I published that stuff of Ford's simply to give him an opportunity to hang himself as conspicuously as his foolishness desired. I happened to be at our club the other day when Merriam, of our Political Science Department, took up the number of the *Journal* containing Ford's last scribe. I was writing and waited with a good deal of curiosity to note Mr. Merriam's reaction. I watched him out of the corners of my eyes, and his

expression grew more and more puzzled and cynical. When he got through he came to me and said, "I always thought Ford was a bright fellow, but he has his head addled on that subject."

It seems to me worth while occasionally to let such people have their chance in the *Journal* so that our people may realize what they are up against in attempting to clear the minds of men who are somewhat intelligent in other subjects.

You will have received before this copy of my latest perpetration, *The Cameralists* [*The Pioneers of German Social Polity* (Chicago 1909)]. There is little Sociology visible in it, but I found myself up against the study in the pursuit of certain evidence that I want to use for Methodology. It is, therefore, wholly a by-product, but incidentally it seems to me to be the beginning of opening up a chapter in modern experience which has been decidedly mixed, so far as the English versions of it are concerned. I have got a little out of it for myself, but must keep on through the next period in the development of the social sciences in Germany in order to have the length of view that will make what I have got worth much. Meanwhile, I fancy I have in this book entered a requisition for a reconsideration of German experience which will have to be heeded by everyone who is concerned with the history of the subject.

Chicago, Ill. November 29, 1909.

I fear there has been some crossing of the wires which will cause unfortunate situations in connection with our Sociological Society program. Veditz had no business to retain the secretaryship if he could not do the work. That however is ancient history. A month ago I wrote to Giddings that I thought you would be willing to prepare a paper on some *methodological* phase of sociology which might

have been suggested by the Ford splurge, without directly giving him any more advertising. I fear he may have understood that I had authorization from you for the suggestion. I see he has announced you on the program. However the matter may stand, I earnestly hope you will be able to take a place on the program and to discuss whatever subject may seem to you most timely. I volunteered to help fill the gap but haven't written a word yet. At a venture I have just submitted my subject. *The Sociological Stage in the Evolution of the Social Sciences*. My argument—drawn very largely from the study I have been putting on the history of German social theories from the 16th century to the 20th—will really hark back to that memorable New Orleans session, of the American Sociological Society, and will urge that sociology, under some name or other, was as inevitable as the problems of energy in physics after the human brain turned itself loose on the phenomena in the fashion of Archimedes. Instead of being a freak science, there is nothing coherent or conclusive in the social sciences at all until everything there is in the processes of human association has been analyzed down to its ultimate discernible elements, and then connected up in its actual functional relations within the evolution that tells the whole story; and sociology is merely one among the possible names for that stage in scientific consciousness which insists on a scientific program which shall have this whole sweep of the phenomena in view, and will not accept conclusions as final until they are conclusions which fit into a consistent account of the interworkings of *all* the phenomena. I think the main movement among all the American Sociologists since *Dynamic Sociology* appeared has had something like this as its more or less conscious motive, and I feel more sure than ever

that the stars in their courses are fighting for us.

March 22, 1910.

Apparently we are due for a scrap. I pricked up my ears—as I suppose you intended that I should, at certain sentences which you read in New York, but in looking through your paper as it appears in the March number of the *Journal* I find that you have cracked the whip a little more energetically than you did at the meeting!

I don't object at all to serving as an awful example, if I am one, but you should have found better evidence than you have cited before you advertise me or anyone else as a traitor to sociology.<sup>1</sup> The one passage which you cite from me on p. 675, is not only not a denial that "psychic forces—are the true cause of all social phenomena," but it is an assertion of it. What I deny in that passage is that we have a quantitative knowledge of those forces in concrete situations sufficient to justify the sort of conclusions which a chemist may draw from his knowledge of his elements. If you feel like maintaining the contrary, I think we may presently have some fun and incidentally clear up somebody's ideas.

I have too many irons in the fire to drop for a new one at once, but I write this simply to serve notice that silence does not give consent, and I shall expect to "have it out" with you later.

Meanwhile I shall be interested to learn whether Ford thinks he is still above ground.

<sup>1</sup> In the course of his attack on the detractors of sociology Ward wrote in "Sociology and the State:" "There is, for example, quite a large school of sociologists, who, though claiming to be such, are virtually denying that sociology is a science. Anyone who denies the existence of efficient causes in society does this. It does not mend matters to say that society is a domain of final causes. Final causes are nothing

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tions

but the appropriation of efficient causes by intelligent beings. Of course sociology employs telic methods, and so does every other science. They are the only methods of which the intellect is capable. The higher mind works through final causes only. Telic is synonymous with intellectual. But in sociology as in all other true sciences, the mind deals with real things—the properties of matter and the forces of nature. Psychic forces are as real and natural as physical forces. In society psychic forces become social forces, and they are the true causes of all social phenomena. The virtual denial of this truth on the part of persons classed as sociologists, is doing sociology far more harm than all that the enemies of the science can do it. Several European sociologists must be so classed, as Ludwig Stein, Draghicesco and Rivera. Nor are they wanting in America; at least passages may be cited to that effect, for example,

by Dr. Small, Professor Ellwood, and Professor Hayes. If the sociologists themselves admit that sociology is a pseudo-science how can we expect the enemies of sociology to see it in any 'better light?' [*op. cit.*, p. 675].

Chicago, Ill. November 15, 1910.

Our Press will send you in a day or two a copy of my latest book *The Meaning of Social Science* [Chicago, 1910]. It is a pretty familiar refrain in our corner of the field, but I hope it will do something to make the other fellows take notice that there is an intolerable amount of segregation where team work ought to be the rule. . . .

## THE ERRORS OF SOCIOLOGY

HOWARD W. ODUM

*University of North Carolina*

FOUR circumstances have contributed to the writing of this paper on "The Errors of Sociology." The first was a request to contribute a chapter to *The Story of Human Error*<sup>1</sup> which was edited by Joseph Jastrow. A second was my experience in the attempt to work out an exhibit of a hundred years' progress in social science at a Century of Progress. A third factor was the minor rôle which sociologists have apparently played in the "New Deal" program at Washington. And this third gave rise to the fourth, a recent symposium of *Questions for Sociology*<sup>2</sup>

My proposed chapter was not acceptable to Dr. Jastrow on the basis of the volume's assumptions, namely, that sociology was primarily an applied science, that it was a catch-all for general ameliorative movements, that it was synonymous with the whole long story of social thought and social philosophy, that it was "a naturalistic basis for the interpretation of man and his works."<sup>3</sup> Manifestly, these are not only incompatible with the science of sociology but contradictory among themselves.

The outlines of the paper have been given before the Alpha Kappa Delta at the University of Wisconsin, at the University of Illinois, and in a number of seminars. So, too, a number of recent informal conferences and discussions have accentuated the timeliness and perhaps the value of such an appraisal.

<sup>1</sup> *The Story of Human Error*, edited by Joseph Jastrow. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936. Chapter XI, "Errors in Sociology" is written by Harry Elmer Barnes. See footnote 4.

<sup>2</sup> *An Informal Round Table Symposium: What Is the Rôle of Sociology in Current Reconstruction? What Are the Sociological Implications of the New Deal? What Is the Place of Sociology in the Federal Government? Is There a New Rural Sociology for the Inventory of American Agrarian Culture? What Is the Matter with Sociologists? And Other Questions*, *Social Forces*, 13, pp. 165-223 (December, 1934).

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* From the closing sentence in Mr. Barnes' chapter.

## I

Of all the stories of man and earth, of land and men, the most powerful and dramatic is that of man himself on this earth together with the resulting social arrangements which he has made for himself through his heroic and erratic attempts to explain and ameliorate his societal environment. It is a long story, sometimes tedious in the telling; sometimes, like a mighty river sweeping on, now deep and swift, now wide and turbulent in flood tide, now disappearing beneath the earth to reappear again in perpetual life-giving waters. It is a long story from the slow journeying of mankind toward all his earlier cultures to the swift moving drama of western civilization; from the primitive all-explaining magic to the modern mechanistic order of technology. Yet the story is a continuous one, capable of weaving into a fabric symbolic of the gradual evolution of mankind and of the kaleidoscopic form and fashion of his struggle and error.

The warp and woof of this pattern of societal relationships is composed of so many different threads of human development in so many stages of the evolving social process that only cross sections and samplings can be presented outside the bounds of encyclopedic treatment. This sampling could be done in a number of ways. We could begin with primitive culture and its explanations of man and his charter of existence, then proceed with samplings from earlier historical folk and later ancient civilizations, continuing through Christianity and its authoritative explanations on to mediaeval naturalism and political philosophy, to the social philosophers and the analysts down to the modern blending of science and philosophy with technology and the elaborate "systems" of sociology and social theory. This would be a composite story of social

philosophy, of cultural history, of changing folk societies, of the history of social theory, portraying not how man came to be how he is, but *how he has explained his existence and what he has thought about it all.*<sup>4</sup>

Or the story might be told through a single continuous thread of the fabric, such as the romantic story which centers constantly around the ascribed relationship of man to the spiritual world with its thousand-fold variation in magic, mana,

<sup>4</sup> This is exactly what Professor Barnes has done admirably. As an illustration of the non-sociological character of the discussion, the following distinguished names in other fields, in the order of their appearance in the chapter, constitute an overwhelming majority of references: Richard Hooker, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, David Hume, Lucretius, Adam Ferguson, Friedrich von Bernhardt, J. A. Cramb, Hudson Maxim, Prince Kropotkin, Jacques Novicow, Georg Friedrich Nicolai, Alexander Sutherland, Andrew Lang, Sir James G. Frazer, E. S. Hartland, J. F. McLennan, Charles Letourneau, Julius Lippert, Seneca, Juan de Mariana, Plato, Thomas More, Tommaso Campanella, James Harrington, Francois Fénelon, Count Claude Henri de Saint-Simon, Francois Marie Charles Fourier, Robert Owen, William Morris, W. D. Howells, H. G. Wells, Jonathan Swift, Charles Perrault, Claude Adrien Helvétius, Giovanni Battista Vico, Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, Marquis de Condorcet, J. G. von Herder, Immanuel Kant, William Godwin, Count de Saint-Simon, Abbé de Saint-Pierre, Friedrich Nietzsche, Oswald Spengler, Hippocrates, Ibn Khaldun, Jean Bodin, Richard Mead, John Arbuthnot, Baron Montesquieu, Karl Ritter, Henry Thomas Buckle, Friedrich Ratzel, Abbé Sieyès, Thomas Paine, J. G. Fichte, F. K. von Savigny, Louis Gabriel de Bonald, Joseph de Maistre, Ludwig von Haller, Graham Wallas, W. S. Jevons, John Bates Clark, Carlton H. Parker, Wesley C. Mitchell, Sir Francis Galton, Karl Pearson, Otto Ammon, Wilhelm Schallmayer, G. Vacher de Lapouge, C. B. Davenport, Henry Fairfield Osborn, Herman J. Muller, Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, Houston Stuart Chamberlain, Fustel de Coulanges, Frederick Seebohm, Roland B. Dixon, Franz Boas, J. B. Say, James Mill, Thomas Nixon Carver, Beatrice and Sidney Webb, Thorstein Veblen, Fabian Franklin, Gustav Schmoller, Paul H. Douglas, Scipio Sighele, William McDougall, Wilfred Trotter, W. E. H. Lecky, Sir Henry Sumner Maine, Max Weber, Ernest Troeltsch, R. H. Tawney, Leslie Stephen, Durant Drake, James H. Tufts.



numina, ghosts, spirits, gods, supernatural forces having both the substance of material matter and spiritual essence. Or it might be told through the stream of changing attitudes of man towards man as expressed in the multiple philosophies of poverty, of crime, of misfortune, of sin, of fear and dread, of evil, of lunacy and feeble-mindedness, of the baleful and burdensome, and of that long catalogue of inter-group attitudes of race, caste, age, sex, sects, rulers and subjects, leaders and followers, lords and peons.

Still, again, the story might center around the extraordinarily vivid and varying concept of government and political culture as the supreme flower and product of all societal arrangements. Whether it be from the earliest origins and explanations of political society through the long road of man's destiny as determined by sovereignty, politics, and government as social control or whether it be in the extraordinary vitality and power of the concept of earthly society as representative of the kingdom of heaven on earth, it would be possible to catalogue an extraordinarily long and unified list of gropings reminiscent of man's trial and error both in his theoretical hypotheses and in his actual experimentation. In all of these avenues of approach, however, the continuing story has evolved through two great epochs, the one before sociology and the other after sociology. Our syllabus, therefore, can best be projected on the basis of these two eras, the first with a very long and distinguished past of slow-moving years; the second of extraordinarily recent and short duration with cumulative momentum and speed.

## II

We begin with the era before sociology. In view of modern society's special interest in government and political arrangements as the point of societal tension and

as illustrative of trial and error, conflict and consolidation, progress and regression, perhaps a glimpse at man's kaleidoscopic arrangements of the state as the basic pattern of relationship and control will serve well our first syllabus for picturization. For, from the earliest beginnings of political society in which leaders and followers were centered around luck and power and magic, or through early community kinship and family relationship, or later tribal organization or feudal order on through noble experiments of Greece and Rome, up through the mediaeval wealth of uncounted theories of human relationship, a full inventory would portray quite well the multiple wanderings of man, the political and social animal.

The forms of state have constituted a notable and varied series. Following early patriarchal and paternalistic patterns they have embraced such concepts and "systems" as monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, the democratic republic, the democratic empire, the representative democracy, the attempt at pure democracy, various forms of bureaucracy, absolutism, expansionism, imperialism, oligarchy, plutocracy, theocracy, physiocracy, clericalism, militarism, sovietism, and the like; theories of the federal state, the city state, the world state, the tyranny of the individual, the tyranny of the crowd; various special concepts of sovereignty, including personal sovereignty, class sovereignty, mass sovereignty, property sovereignty, rational or intellectual sovereignty.

Similarly, in the long conflict between individuation and socialization, many theories of liberty have been set forth accounting for civil liberty, fiscal liberty, personal liberty, racial or national liberty, international political liberty. They have been summarized by James Bryce as of four kinds: *civil* liberty, or the exemption from control in respect to person and

property; *religious* liberty, or the exemption from control of religious opinions and practices; *political* liberty, or the participation of the citizen in the government of the community; and *individual* liberty, or the exemption from control of things not directly related to the welfare of the community as a whole.

Such a brief list does not of course, attempt to enumerate technical political theories or to include the purely philosophical speculations. There are, too, many borderline theories contrasting and conflicting speculation relating to idealism, naturalism, pragmatism, or monism and pluralism, moralism and non-moralism, as well as the primary philosophical aspects of aristocracy versus democracy. There are also the legalistic theories centering upon jurisprudence. All these are primarily the pre-sociological development antedating the later proletarian political theories, enumerated by Professor Douglas—collectivism, anarchism, syndicalism, guild socialism, consumers' coöperation, agrarian distribution, the single tax, and bolshevism, and the still later contributions of the newer social psychology to political theory, as well as those of anthropology and various race and ethnic factors.

Continuing this thread of man's societal relationship, it is possible to focus upon a special example of explanation and control in the powerful influence of Christianity. Says Professor Dunning, after tracing the history of political theory from its earliest stages, "Then came Christianity upon the scene. As this faith rose to influence and power its teachings transformed political as well as other philosophy. God and His scheme of creation gradually became recognized as the first cause of man and all human affairs. The divine will fixed the character and operation of social institutions." That is, if Rome ruled

nations, God ruled Rome; if nations ruled men, God ruled nations; if there were human rulers, they ruled by the will of God. If, again, there were human laws, they were sanctioned by the divine law. Law and institutions made by man were indirectly from God. There were two distinct systems of rules for mankind: that of the temporal was from man, and that of the spiritual from God. Man must be subject to man, ruler, or government, sometimes Church, sometimes State, but always with authority from God. There could be no questioning of the right of God, and consequently government found its sanction and emphasis in the ruler's right derived from God rather than in consent of the people.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries arose the doctrine that by nature—God's nature, it is true—all men are free and equal; and if equal, then God's authority must not operate through any one superior being, but must reside in all the people. For two centuries thereafter the interpretation of nature, on the one hand, and the quarrel of creeds, on the other, brought about a lessened regard for divine authority. This was followed by an enhanced individualism and democracy, forerunner of more modern tenets of government. The nineteenth century found one of its main tasks in the attempt to harmonize the two doctrines of authority and sovereignty, on the one hand, and of individual freedom, on the other. Neither nature nor God seemed directly adequate, so that the influence of Christianity was exerted indirectly through interpretation, reason, righteousness, morality, history, liberty, justice. Finally, the larger concept of society was held to be the arbiter. What sort of society, then, became the question of importance? In the last of the nineteenth century we find abstract theories developed—the inherent power of

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society as an organism, the natural rights of the individual, the separateness of State and government from religion, from which point the positivistic explanations of sociology take precedence.

This cumulative product of man's effort to master his societal relationships through the avenue of the state-society reflects little of his dramatic struggle to come to grips with social reality: the tragedy of war and battlefield, conquest and subjugation of peoples; the rise and fall of tribes, nations, empires; the contribution of a thousand intellectual battlefields in which the old and new are fought out by dominant leaders; and withal the very life blood of the earlier peoples in their struggle against the earth and elements, man and beast. Over here was an early group with leaders that succeeded in marshaling their society to victory. They were adjudged to be lucky by the other peoples around about, and straightway there was panic to join the clans of the lucky. Here the earlier patterns of luck and magic and power were merged quickly into explanation and organization. Henceforth the order of the lucky was the order of the state. Over there were other groups whose apparent definitive characteristic was the capacity to fight and to win in battle, ruthless victory appearing to be always the fruits of might and power. Hence came the doctrine of "might over right" and the later practice and judgment which posited the state as the master of the citizen; the citizen the servant of the state, subject in all capacities to the limitless demand of the sovereign power.

Returning to the earlier explanations of societal phenomena and particularly of man's place on the earth, the story may be seen to parallel a twofold emphasis. On the one hand, primitive man was always trying to explain society somehow

in terms of a physical world, the world which he beheld around about him; but since his physical science was not adequate he must needs explain many things in terms of the unknowable, so that he came soon to interpret his environment as consisting of a world of material and of spirits, with everywhere the earth as personified nature. So later he evolved the science of the earth and a religion of the spirit, and still later a science of form and numbers and a philosophy of ultimates. In terms of centuries, it is a long way from the primitive interpretation which endowed the powers and phenomena of nature with both spirit and material form and with consciousness, motivation, with hate, malice, magic power over the individual, to the modern theology which portrays the Jehovah of all peoples and all worlds as a jealous God with omniscience and omnipotence, having a knowledge and power over the sparrow, the storm, the sinner, the nation. Somewhere in between, the great Greek mythology, with its heroic gods on Mount Olympus and the voice of the thunder, still represents a median picture of man's explanation of himself as the child of divinity. It is a magnificent story, unbelievably potent today as in earlier days. Yet multiple theologies like multiple patterns of state reflect little of the powerful drama of religious faith, fear, conflict.

It comes within the field of sociology to search out, describe, and portray much of this kaleidoscopic pattern of changing belief and ritual. In this explanation as a thread of the human fabric could be traced much of the whole weaving of culture if we accept some such concept of culture as the total of the ideas from magic to science. There were early days and generations when man, seeing his shadow, hearing his echo, beholding his reflection



in the clear waters, dreaming his dreams, fearing his dead, came to evolve his theory of dual personality and of the power of the spirits and the dead and gods over the living. Hence patterns and theories of ghosts and spirits and demons and gods. Hence medicine men and masters of the spirit, and the power of all religion over all society. Hence mana and its multiple theories of mysterious power and influence, and the communicability of this power through symbols and material things. Hence much of the story of culture, which is told by anthropologists.

Here again, as in the case of political theory, the story might take up a more specific thread, such as that which interprets man's societal relations as being a special permit of the deity or charter of other worldliness. Thus, in India society was a stage in the long course of transmigration, continuous in ages, cycles, and struggle. So in China, man's society consisted of arrangements of endless cycles and of destiny, the spirit of ancestors dominating living men. So among the Hebrews, the community was of the kingdom of heaven on earth and the relationships and arrangement between the individual and the group were dictated by divine authority; all were parts of one body.

So runs the catalogue of many other great rationalizations through which man justifies slavery and caste and war and exploitation. So strangely these explanations and verdicts permeate the whole culture of the western world, its state and national constitutions, its laws, its morality. Thus, the cumulative verdict that institutions were of the nature of God, created or directed by him; that natural law was synonymous with divine law. So run a thousand parallels between the patterns and appraisals of primitive and early man and those of the current civiliza-

tion of the East and the West. To follow this golden thread of religious dominance would be to explore the whole story of societal phenomena with its multiple byways of magic and medicine, of natural law and science, of secular and religious history.

It would be possible to select other single threads of the culture fabric and follow them back through the long weaving of the ages. Perhaps as good final illustration as could be chosen is that of the reactions of man and his society to the whole world of physical geography, of spiritual essence and of humankind; especially of man's reaction and attitudes toward man. Professor Giddings, after long years of the study of the history of civilization, thought that perhaps the whole pattern of human society might be woven around this phenomenon of the reactions of society. As men reacted to the external world, to nature and climate, to flood and storm, to catastrophes and disasters, so grew up the regional cultures. As men reacted to strangers and foreigners, to other peoples from other places, so grew up theories and practices of race and caste; so grew patterns of mistrusts and hostility, of deceit and trickery, of all the long justifications and catalogues of war techniques. As men reacted to members of their own society, the baleful, the evil, the feeble-minded, the burdensome, the obnoxious, the criminal, so grew up patterns of philanthropy, social religion, public welfare, the techniques of treatment and cure of the socially deficient. So even in more detail may be traced the changing explanations of men of poverty, of crime; now a visitation or penalty from deity and now the work of demons. In these explanations grew up a great multitude of ameliorative concepts and practices: now charity and condescending philanthropy, now Christian benevolence,

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meet for future reward; now "laissez faire and after," or paternalistic control of the less fortunate, or still later ameliorative achievements and ultimate trends towards social planning,—all later products and process of social science and democracy. The story of all of these is reflected not only in the sociological appraisal of man's culture, but throughout the annals of literature, art, philosophy, history; once again cumulative background of trial and error, heritage of the modern world of societal relationships. From these backgrounds have grown still other and more modern explanations of man's relation to the earth and to his fellow men.

### III

When we come to the second era of sociological appraisal, namely the advent of the new science of society as projected in the emerging sociology of Auguste Comte's day, the story of error becomes increasingly difficult to present, either in broad, clear strokes or in definitive analysis. In the first place, it was necessary for the new science to attempt to bring together and synthesize all the slow cumulative knowledge of man's societal relationships and interpretations involved in all of the pre-sociology era. In the next place, there were no known methodologies except those of the physical sciences and of the merging philosophy and prospective other social sciences. Thus the fringe of political science, of cultural anthropology, human geography, social philosophy, and scientific analogies impinge upon the stage of this new formal science of society. So, too, the new science was faced with the cumulative lag of a society which was wont to study and plan all things else before it came to focus upon its own organization and welfare. It would be only natural that the new science with its Herculean task would

feature a disciplinary branch of knowledge seeking to become a positive science.

Before examining some of the dilemmas in which sociology as the new science of society finds itself, it is important to note how the story of the border line explanation of society projected by the physical scientists, the social philosophers, and the emerging sociologists is extraordinarily reminiscent of the earlier story of mankind's effort to explain himself and his society in the dual terms of physical and spiritual. Even as Comte, the founder of sociology, was attempting to explain all society in terms of great stages of interest and of development, theological, metaphysical, and scientific, so his fellow students, just before and after, were following assiduously the early explanation of man and society and analogies of the physical world and science. So came the widespread general analogical approach to interpret society and to explain social phenomena in the same way in which mathematics, physics, mechanics, chemistry, and biology had been successful in discovering and explaining physical phenomena.

It must be clear, therefore, that any inventory of the errors of sociology is more difficult and likely to appear less definitive than is the case with the physical and biological sciences. Yet some of the errors of sociology appear now to be as fundamental and far-reaching as many of the notable errors of medicine, astronomy, physics, and chemistry in their long climbs upward. Still for a number of reasons, it is more difficult to isolate and portray examples with the same vividness as those of the physical sciences. Sociology must face a dual world of phenomena, a continuing and changing content and objectives; now old stuff, now new; now descriptive and now purposive sciences; now organizations; now people. There is,

first of all, the phenomena of early primitive society, symbolic of the slow journeying of mankind toward all his earlier cultures; and there is, in contrast, this current modern society, the swift-moving drama of western civilization with its sweep of technical ways defying measurement in their conditioning of folkways, mores, and stateways. Here is the spectacle of civilization moving faster and going further in multiples of technological achievement in one short third of a century than in all the long centuries before. Yet, a thousand years are still as a watch in the night in the understanding of the time-quality, the geographic factors, and the culture equipment and behavior of people, and in the appraisal of the realities and exceedingly complex nature of human cultures.

Furthermore, unlike the natural sciences, the data of sociology are not the same yesterday, today, and forever. Essential qualities of social phenomena are found in change so that the changing processes which create new social phenomena in turn are controlled by the discovery and utilization of those phenomena which in turn create still other new data for sociology. That is, to cite a simple example, new discoveries about the child may lead to new ways of study and treatment of the behavior of children, which result in new types of institutions which in turn lead to new social arrangements which in turn become the subject matter of sociology. Or the extraordinary products of science, invention, and discovery may usher in a new field of phenomena in the form of technicways of modern society which were unpredictable in the earlier Sumner analysis of the folkways or in the earlier ethnological picture of folk culture. Yet the test of sociology must somehow be found in its ability to understand what has happened and what

is happening and to popularize the knowledge in realistic ways. For sociology must achieve its scientific character in the process of the extension of knowledge as well as in method and content. Through social invention and social technology the task of sociology will be to prevent the weakening of *science-theory* through the ignoring of *science-practice* in a changing world.

Again, sociology is young. Great bodies of data that might have been recorded, had there been a sociology, are not available. Moreover, its conclusions have not been clear-cut and vivid. Its pronouncements have not had the authenticity of agreement among many recognized masters. It has not had the sanction, the endowment, the range of opportunity vouchsafed the older sciences. It has had no such definite field and task as have many of the other sciences and it has often been all things to all men. Its obligation to take up when other sciences have failed have, therefore, been increasingly marked during the last fifty years.

Yet, within a definitive range of meaning and application it seems possible to present the story of sociology's errors distinct from the errors of eugenics or anthropology or physics. They may be presented effectively under three groupings. First, the story of error in man's societal relations; second, the errors of sociology in relation to these; and third, the errors and limitations of sociologists themselves.

With reference to the range and meaning of sociology, in addition to the above implications it is essential that we envisage a realistic science of society both in the sense that it will be authentic historically and in current usage and that it will come to grips with the realities of modern society. Such a sociology is the later Giddings concept of a scientific study

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of human society, constantly seeking more rigorous scientific methods and attitudes and more effective applications to the end that society may attain a better selection, preservation and development of a superior mankind. Or it envisages the mastery of a society considered as a means to an end which is the attainment of a greater human adequacy, such adequacy to comprehend elements of endurance, health, reproductive vigor, intelligence, self-control, ability to make adjustments, happiness, and the sum-total of human welfare. Such a science must inevitably achieve a more adequate body of societal facts but also a more realistic facing of facts, twin motivation of genuine science. This purposive nature of sociology is exemplified in his observation that "facing the facts that the physical and biological sciences have made known to us has enabled us to live more comfortably and longer than men once did. Facing the facts that the social sciences are making known to us, and will make better known, should enable us to diminish human misery and to live more wisely than the human race has lived hitherto."

This all-inclusive meaning of sociology is adequate to comprehend nearly all of the authentic schools of thought and methodology which heretofore have indicated great diversity and lack of agreement among sociologists. For instance, such grasp of sociology allows for a science which focuses upon a continuing and flexible series of problems basic to research and analysis; or in another conception, a body of social techniques, of practical problems centering around these problems with a view to better adjustment and readjustment of people to the natural and cultural environment of life. Or again it is broad enough to include whatever specialized sociology may attempt in the way of understanding human

society and of the formulation of laws of personal and social development. It is broad enough to expand the interpretative function of sociology and to comprehend more rigorous and realistic inquiries into human values and into standards for their measurement and attainment. It is broad enough to comprehend realistic definitions of democracy, of Americanism, of social planning, and of hosts of loosely used concepts, the accurate definition of which must be fundamental to orderly societal development. It is broad enough to comprehend the variety and the vitality of the spontaneous mass movements of people and to "show us the relation of folkways to stateways, of voluntaristic to authoritative methods of trying to achieve the desired ends." It is comprehensive enough to give basic facts for the attainment of equilibrium between conflicting forces, such as individualism and socialization, and especially between the old order and the new. And it is broad enough to comprehend what Pareto has called the non-logical action of men, or what in the light of recent history is probably more accurately the logical but non-rational behavior of society.

#### IV

Now, using this sociology as a yardstick and measuring the cumulative experience of man, what is the story of error in the special setting of societal relationships? We interpret error to mean those activities, behavior processes, and techniques which have retarded the advancement of society as a means toward the attainment of a more adequate culture, a superior mankind; or error may be interpreted as action or policy or tropism for which sociology of today indicates better procedures might have been substituted. Then, turning the question mark back, in the light of this appraisal of social tragedies, what have



been the chief errors of sociology as the science of society? And what have been the limitations of its specialists and leaders which have retarded the growth and effectiveness of their science? These questions manifestly lie at the heart not only of cultural history but of every man's quest for enlightenment in these days of dramatic kaleidoscopic developments. It is possible that no more important questions can be asked than these.

Somewhere high up in the catalogue of tragedies, based upon the pre-sociological story, I place the great phenomenon of race conflict and the exploitation of minority peoples alongside the long train of resulting structures and processes, cumulative conditioning and conflict, product of the religious, political, and general cultural evolution of societal relations. In this vast inventory are a multitude of exhibits: attitude and action, myth and patterns of racial superiority and inferiority, confiscation, annihilation, exploitation, appropriation of person and property, imperialism, economic, political, and religious discrimination, and cultural exhaustion; prejudice, intolerance, distrust, emotional complexes, false conclusions of both science and sentiment, dominating folkways and mores, conflict motivation instead of specialization and cooperation.

Twin tragedy with race conflict has been war with its immeasurable train of social ills. The story of man's societal evolution has explained the reality of this cumulative product. Yet, if there be those who still acclaim war and primary conflict as basic and elemental forces necessary to adequate evolutionary survival, it is only necessary to recount our present universal recognition of the tragic dilemma of current civilization and the almost unanimous verdict that the world war has been a large contributing factor. Again, call to witness universal present-

day dread of world cataclysm from a new and greater war of nations, prophetic of the destruction of civilization itself. How great an error, therefore, which threatens to destroy all that society has achieved! Not only the cumulative tragedies of blood and death and destruction of property and men; not only the catalogue of immeasurable social and economic waste; not only the decimation of the flower of the people and of their art and culture; not only disease and disorganization and disintegration and anti-social defeat of the ends of society; but also the threat of bringing to flower the genius, science, and invention of mankind in one grand slaughter through supertechnology wielded in the hands of the great age-long twin forces of rationalized hate and defense.

Overlapping and interrelated with the above is a third tragedy of errors, difficult to characterize but clear in its implications. It is the supreme dominance of individuation over socialization, the cult of the might of the individual or the advantaged group being the right for society. Perhaps this has been reflected most in the motivation of power and wealth as the chief visible ends of society, with the consequent exploitation of humanity and the minimization of social welfare. Contributing towards these ends have been the powerful sweep, not only of race conquest and war, but of uncontrolled nationalism, of religious dominance, of economic exploitation of land and men and resources, and of the continuing animal evolutionary process of survival of the ruthless, emphasizing the biologically fit for the jungle rather than the culturally fit for society.

In the light of the sociological ideals stated and of the present crises in civilization, still other similar errors appear susceptible to classification. One is the tendency of mankind to make its institu-

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tions, its organizations, quantitative achievement, and technology means in themselves as well as the so-called indices of progress. It is not only the William James dictum that "most institutions by the purely technical and professional manner in which they come to be administered, end by becoming obstacles to the very purposes which their founders had in view." It is not only the concept of a super-state or a super-religion, or a super-educational system fabricated from out of the service and slavery of the people, the state, the religion, the factory, the institution itself being the flower of civilization. It is not even merely the "tragedies of progress" or the "costs of civilization." The test can be made more vividly in measures of current questionings. How much speed, bigness, science, technology, for bigness' sake, for speed's sake, for science's sake, for technology's thrills can society stand and survive? Here might be error and disaster harnessed together in the overpowering mode of the age: faster, faster, faster; more, more, more; bigger, bigger, bigger; new, new, new; now, now, now. How fast, how much? how big? how different? how long? were possible questions for the sociological determination of margins of balance and equilibrium.

Returning, however, to our catalogue of errors of the earlier theoretical approach of sociology, we come to three major procedures which, due to both emphasis and methodology, appear to underlie many of the limitations of sociology. The first of these may be stated as an over-emphasis upon the forms, organizations, and institutions, rather than upon the whole folk-cultural evolution of society. This was partly a descriptive catalogue of what society appeared to be rather than a realistic understanding of how society came to be what it was. It was a picturization of products and effects

without the necessary understanding of processes and causes. It set institutional form and stateways above institutional character and folkways. It set single factors, such as geography, biological structure, and ideological forces, above the total social environment and social behavior. It sought progress of mankind in mechanical measurement or brain structure rather than in the socializing process of improved social environment. It sought the explanation of non-logical and irrational mass behavior of men in visible ends and actions rather than through folk-psychology and folk-sociology which would measure the cumulative power of the time-quality, the geographic factors, and the cultural equipment of the people.

In simpler language, sociology could not explain the powerful mass revolt of peoples, the non-rational and non-logical action of men, and the helplessness of governments to cope with them in modern crises. Or, to take another example, sociology looked upon race as an entity in itself as if it were a purely physical product rather than the product of long-developed folk-regional culture. Or it failed to appraise the power of religion as a folk-cultural conditioning more powerful than all the stateways. It failed to appraise the dynamics of social groups working among and upon themselves both through powerful evolving folk-culture and through a constantly increasing flow of new technicways which hastened and changed the direction of social evolution. It failed to measure the power of technology and artificiality over social survival and failed to gauge the power and prepotency of the vigorous mass-man, ever emerging from cultural cycle to cycle.

This neglect of folk sociology applied to both the earlier evolutionary stages of societal evolution and to the later mass transitional movements and processes. In

the folkways and technicways sociology failed to find the adequate measures for the explanation and direction of any society, ancient or modern. This failure to appraise folk phenomena resulted in false assumptions in many a field of social activity. Some of the testing grounds for this assumption are found in the folkways of race, of kinship and ethnic groups, of regions and nations, of religion, of war, of science, of convention and tradition, of women, of class and caste, of propaganda, of crime, of production and distribution, of social planning. In so far as sociology did appraise the folk phenomena, it failed to foresee the power of technic ways to reshape the folkways in ever quickening tempo, transcending the traditional slow moving emergence into mores, and resulting in multiple stateways, quick product of technicways which outmoded the old processive mores of long standing.

A second of the "theoretical" errors was found in the earlier sociological subjective and metaphysical hypotheses that society was a physical or biological organism or a psychological organism, or a super-organism, or was explained in terms of mechanistic interpretation of social phenomena. This took many forms, all of which contributed to the same general retardation of dependable social theory. Some of the Darwinian theories constituted one form of the hypothesis which assumed that man was merely a continuing animal evolution. Other forms have already been enumerated in the syllabus of analogies previously suggested.

The catalogue of concrete examples of errors, due to the general errors selected above, is a long one. The catalogue can be checked with the tragedy of errors of mankind as well as with the index of sociological theory and personnel. Here are samplings.

The assumption that races are inherently

different rather than group products of differentials due to the cumulative power of folk-regional and cultural environment.

The assumption that because race conflict had constituted a major grouping of social phenomena, that therefore it was elemental and basic to societal evolution.

The assumption that primary conflict and war were societal necessities and good for societal evolution.

The assumption that the evolution of mankind was biological and physical rather than cultural and historical, the product of cumulative social heritage.

The assumption that survival for the "biological fit for the Jungle" was more important than "the historical survival of the better for human purposes."

The assumption that the individual might continue development upward in the midst of deteriorating social environment, a magnifying of individuation over socialization.

The assumption that a single force determines the course of cultural history. From this grew geographic determinism.

There was economic determinism and Marxian philosophy, assuming that all manifestations of cultural life, contrary to even the simplest cultural forms, are determined by economic conditions.

There was the assumption of psychological inner drives and Freudian complexes as exclusively conditioning behavior.

There was the assumption that societal evolution would be uniformly slow and constant, oblivious of telic motivation and powerful technicways speeding up evolutionary processes.

There were the Malthusian laws, multiple population theories and policies, and social lag.

There was *laissez faire* and all its related manifestations.

There was the assumption of social and mental inequality of men and women,

making biological differences synonymous with cultural potentials, and assuming sex as exclusively physical.

There were the theories of crime and criminology, assuming that the criminal was a biological type.

The third of the earlier "theoretical" errors of sociology appears to have rating both as cause and effect in relation to the first two. It was also a natural product of the philosophical emphasis and matrix of earlier sociological theory. This error was the tendency to imitate and take over rather blindly the methodologies of the biological and physical sciences. Much of this is reflected in the mechanistic and analogical theories of society, as indicated above. Some of it is reflected in the great body of literature of "concept" and the sociological dictionary of terminology and the tendency toward artificial classificatory arrangements which appear to seek originality rather than reality. This attempt to assume objectivity of methodology by the listing of multiple concepts which are in nowise susceptible to objective measurement has left the sociologist a poor figure in the presence of great societal upheavals and of technological changes. The error has been reflected also in some tendencies to over-emphasize the statistical method of social research to the neglect of other methods and to the neglect of phenomena which do not appear as yet measurable in current sociological methodology. It has been reflected also in the constant and articulate claim of sociology that it was scientific; in the debating of what was and was not scientific sociology; in the continuous forum of questions as to how to make sociology scientific; in fine, in the constant flow of literature about scientific sociology to the neglect of scientific sociology itself. This has not gained sociology the desired respect of the other sciences nor decreased the defi-

ciency complex of the sociologists themselves. At the same time the aloofness from reality which this has brought about has caused sociology to lose time and step in the progress of social science in the new world.

Many of the limitations of sociology, however, are probably typical also of most of the social sciences. Here is a possible catalogue: the immaturity of sociology in its functional relation to social problems; failure to coordinate and gear together the results of research; a sort of stubborn clinging to classical forms and traditions; a certain uncritical imitation of the natural sciences; a certain statistical romanticism and formulae worship over against the stark realism of social demands; the neglect of societal values as a major area of study; a considerable stubborn disciplinary loyalty and aloofness of the professors; a certain play-boy snobbishness of the researchers; a considerable quantum of personal jealousies and conceptual dogmatism; a very limited number of adequately trained sociologists; the failure to win a major place in institutional budgets and programs; the failure to project boldly and popularly the teachings of sociology upon the public screen; and the failure of the sociologists and social workers to get together in a common purposive science.

## V

This last named limitation, namely, the failure of sociology and social work to integrate their efforts toward the understanding and solution of social problems, and the subsequent branching off of sociology from the social work field, may well constitute a major premise of error in American sociology. The error appears demonstrable from two angles. The first is in terms of what a dynamic sociology might have attained in orderly science and telic functioning had it not divorced

itself from reality to branch off primarily into a college and university formal discipline. The second is in terms of what a comprehensive scientific social work might have accomplished had it come to grips with the realities of social adjustment instead of branching off primarily into charities and corrections and later comprehending a chaotic mixture of indiscriminate and non-integrated activities. Or to combine the two aspects, it would seem a fair presumption of error that in the present crisis of society featuring insecurity, social welfare, and the challenge of the democratic order, sociology and social work stand afar off from each other disputing about what to do. Both cases are capable of considerable elaboration.

First with reference to sociology as at present constituted in the United States. I have recently invited some of the sociologists from twenty-five of the leading institutions to contribute to a symposium in which two questions were asked: What is the matter with sociology? What is the rôle of sociology in current social reconstruction? From this symposium I find ample confirmation of this premise that a major error of sociology has been the divorcing of social theory from social practice to the weakening of both. What happened in the earlier stages of American sociology, however, is not generally so well known. The founding of the American Social Science Association in 1865, the National Prison Association in 1871, and the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1874 grew out of the earlier sociological approach in America in which it was maintained that crime, pathology, poverty, and maladjustment in the rapidly growing nation could be studied and mastered only through the development of a social science capable of both understanding and ameliorating conditions. What happened, however, was that one group

focused upon the problem aspect, developing "Charities and Correction" and a chaotic social work approach. The national meeting changed its name to the National Conference of Social Work only in 1917. In the meantime, sociology had developed as a college and university discipline, following the theoretical scholarship in Europe. Not until after the turn of the century was there a formal national organization of sociologists, the American Sociological Society being organized in 1904-1905. The emphasis of the sociologists all along had been increasingly upon theory, systems, concepts, and, to some extent, methodology for its own sake, rather than as a means to the mastery of social phenomena. At the same time there was the deliberately widening breach between the sociologists and social workers until the 1920's and again in the 1930's evidences of a resurgence of the breach.

What this has meant to sociology could be estimated from a review of some of the special fields of sociological research, study, and instruction. What, for instance, in the field of *population* in fifty years might have been the body of scientific knowledge basic to social techniques had sociology worked more effectively with the United States Census, with the wealth of case materials and laboratories of state and local areas in which minority groups, races, immigration, and the changing status of living people were the units of sociological study? In the field of crime and criminology, basic researches in behavior and environmental relationships might have given authentic interpretation to the more than 13,000 titles of extraordinarily wide range, products of hundreds of agencies and group activities in the field. Or if there had been focus upon penal science instead of what was often being done by law, religion, humanitarianism, and social work without adequate

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scientific basis or guidance? So, too, in the field of social security and its allied areas of research and activity, such as social-industrial relations, labor problems, the sociological objectives of democracy, the fundamental implications of public welfare, earlier errors are reflected in an almost tragic impotence of sociology and sociologists to substitute substance, stability, and permanence for present chaotic human experimentation. These errors have been accentuated by the fact that sociology has gone on listing courses in social problems and social pathology at the same time that it was protesting its separateness from the techniques of social application. In reality, therefore, it was neither the one nor the other. The other side of the picture, namely, the theoretical development of sociology, may be seen from the later citation of earlier errors in relation to prevailing emphasis upon sociological theories.

The other side of the picture is reflected in the field of social work which has evolved through an extraordinary, kaleidoscopic course of erratic development. It has at times been the catch-all for many of those folks who "love people," who want to "do something for humanity," who want to reform somebody, who want to organize something through which they can function in the promotion of a cause. Strangely enough, the long road of social work from its inception in charities and corrections has often been the road of paternalistic dictatorship to the socially deficient and unfortunate. At times it has moved contrary to the early American principles of democracy as originally motivated through public welfare. It had accordingly focused upon private philanthropy and charitable ideologies, often opposing the development of the democratic process through public funds, appropriated and administered as in public

education, public safety, and other self-evident services of government. For nearly a half century it reflected the old ideologies of charity and humanitarianism, religious provincialism, and vested interests in a field of work as an end rather than as a means to human service, in addition to setting up standards and techniques easily demonstrable through sociological science to be inadequate and often contrary to the best interests of society. Its chief leaders and workers were for a long time recruited almost altogether from those who had little knowledge and understanding of the historical, cultural, and economic backgrounds of society. Here was social work, the supreme test and the chief area for the application of social science, challenged to strike deep at the heart of social maladjustments, yet offering artificial and often superficial remedies, rather than affording comprehensive, scientific, and prevention programs commensurate with the demands of society.

And in the early 1930's, social work was given one of the greatest opportunities any great branch of human knowledge and activity ever had. Yet its failure, measured by the yardstick of enduring social objectives and social organization, and in terms of its measure of popular success, appears from this early vantage point at least to have been perhaps monumental. This, of course, was due to limitations inherent in the situation, as well as to specific errors which appear to be demonstrable. Evidence of this is found in the inadequacy of numbers and training of workers and in the super-specialized—sometimes almost inquisitorial—case work approach of its thousands of immature workers. Case by case, state by state, county by county, region by region, the evidence is objective and observable.

Now, in this premise of errors the emphasis is placed upon sociology's earlier

error which not only weakened its position, but gave ample occasion for the branching off of social work. It is difficult to see how social work could have done otherwise. In the premise, however, is the assumption that in a coöperative development, each strengthening the other, there might have developed a sociology and a social work with such sweep and power, and such personnel and resources as would have made possible epochal contributions to social security and social adjustment. With such a development, also, social work as a profession could have attained standing, support, and effectiveness comparable to the schools of law, medicine, and engineering.

Another premise of error appears in the failure of sociology to include social values as one of its major areas of study and research. Evidence supporting this conclusion may be of several sorts. It is implied in much of the twenty-five contributions to our symposium. It may be measured in greater abundance by using the sociological yardstick for social dilemma, social pathology, and social disorganization in current civilization. It is reflected in the extraordinary deficiency in social standards and objectives which the sociologists can make available for both theory and programs of social planning at the present time. It is especially reflected in the earlier list of the tragedies of errors of society: errors of race conflict, war, exploitation, and motivation toward power, bigness, institutional tyranny, and artificial and mechanical standards. The presumption of error is found in the characterization of human tragedies as being due to wrong standards, values, traditions, beliefs, which have dominated mankind

in the absence of adequate values and ways of conserving or attaining them which might have been provided by sociology.

The error is illustrated further in that sociology today can provide no authentic analysis of societal values, either of those which have guided humanity in the past or which might be set up for society's future guidance. Something of the nature of the task of study and analysis might be indicated by Professor Giddings' characterization of social morality as that which is sociologically, psychologically, and physiologically right, these categories in turn being susceptible to subdivisions capable of objective measurement. Or, again, the error is reflected in the question as to what sociology might have achieved in its earlier stages had it directed "attention to the whole scheme and range of values," and convincingly exhibited "the subservient relation of commercial values to human or spiritual values?" Or, had it arrived at a realistic sociological set-up, from a scientific examination of the reactions of society concerning the major objectives or ends of society, such as the perfecting of human nature and the social mind through the better ordering of social environment, through the development of variation and richness of life, through the amelioration of the common lot, through the development of personality and individuality, and through the socialization of individuals. If civilization is largely a matter of values and civilization represents the product of society's on-goings to date, and if sociology is the scientific study of this society, the omissions of social values assumes a larger significance than the errors of a pre-Copernican astronomy which assigned to the earth its wrong place in the scheme of things.

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# THE "DRAG" OF TALENT OUT OF THE SOUTH<sup>1</sup>

WILSON GEE

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THE impression prevails widely that the South is a region which has been and is being depleted severely of its best talent to the enrichment of other parts and to its own impoverishment. The writer has in another connection<sup>2</sup> a few years ago showed objectively the truth of this contention as it affected the social scientists of the region. At that time it occurred to him as valuable that such a study be extended to all of those in and of the South whose names were in the 1932-33 edition of *Who's Who in America*. Through the aid of FERA and NYA student help, and the statistical assistance of a graduate instructor, A. V. Shea, Jr., he has been enabled to do this and this article embodies the most significant of the findings.

Of the 6,015 persons in this edition of *Who's Who* that were born in the South, 2,229 were at that time located in other sections. This is a loss of 37.1 per cent of the native-born of distinction, or more than one-third. The distribution of these losses according to classes is given in Table I. Numerically, the depletion was largest among editors, authors, educators, lawyers, judges, business men, religious workers, medical doctors, politicians, diplomats, army and navy officers, actors and artists, in the order named. Proportionally, the loss was greatest among actors and artists (85.2 per cent), army and navy officers (78.7 per cent), natural

scientists (61.3 per cent), architects and engineers (57.8 per cent), social scientists (56.5 per cent), and editors and authors (49.8 per cent). The reader will be left to speculate himself as to the reasons for the losses in each of these groups. The blanket explanation is advanced, however, that the cause in each case is discoverable in the fact in general that the superior

TABLE I

SOUTHERN BORN IN WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA, 1932-33

CLASSIFICATION	TOTAL NUMBER	NUMBER LOCATED IN SOUTH	NUMBER LOCATED OUTSIDE OF SOUTH	PERCENTAGE "DRAG" OUT OF SOUTH
Religious Workers.....	735	528	207	28.2
Lawyers and Judges.....	996	719	277	27.8
Doctors.....	447	264	183	40.9
Educators.....	1,078	777	301	27.9
Editors, Authors.....	611	307	304	49.8
Architects and Engineers....	135	57	78	57.8
Business Men.....	695	441	254	36.5
Actors, Artists.....	135	20	115	85.2
Politicians, Diplomats.....	594	436	158	26.6
Social Workers.....	35	25	10	28.6
Army and Navy Officers....	197	42	155	78.7
Natural Scientists.....	142	55	87	61.3
Social Scientists.....	92	40	52	56.5
Agricultural Group.....	68	46	22	32.4
All others.....	55	29	26	47.3
Totals.....	6,015	3,786	2,229	37.1

opportunities lie outside the South, and it is in search of these that the talent has been attracted from the region.

It is interesting (See Table II) to contrast the loss of the Southern born with the replacement received in return by migration into the region. The groups which sustained the heaviest net losses are the lawyers and judges (175), editors and authors (159), army and navy officers

<sup>1</sup> In this study the following states were considered as comprising the South: West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas and Oklahoma.

<sup>2</sup> Gee, Wilson, *Research Barriers in the South*. Century Company, New York, 1932, Chapter III, pp. 21-35.

(133), politicians and diplomats (112), medical doctors (108), business men and bankers (75) and actors and artists (73). The only groups showing a net gain were the educators (51), natural scientists (21), and agricultural leaders (15). These classes revealing gains are largely in the educational field where the universities and colleges recruit considerable numbers

TABLE II  
DISTINGUISHED PERSONS BORN IN THE SOUTH NOW  
LIVING ELSEWHERE COMPARED WITH THOSE BORN  
ELSEWHERE NOW LIVING IN THE SOUTH IN *Who's*  
*Who* IN AMERICA, 1932-33

CLASSIFICATION	BORN IN SOUTH, NOW LIVING OUT OF SOUTH	BORN OUT OF SOUTH, NOW LIVING IN SOUTH	GAIN OR LOSS TO SOUTH
Religious Workers.....	207	194	-13
Lawyers and Judges.....	277	102	-175
Doctors.....	183	75	-108
Educators.....	301	352	51
Editors and Authors.....	304	145	-159
Architects and Engineers.....	78	68	-10
Business Men and Bankers.....	254	179	-75
Actors and Artists.....	115	42	-73
Politicians and Diplomats.....	158	46	-112
Social Workers.....	10	8	-2
Army and Navy Officers.....	155	22	-133
Natural Scientists.....	87	108	21
Social Scientists.....	52	30	-22
Agricultural Group.....	22	37	15
All others.....	26	8	-18
Totals.....	2,229	1,416	-813

from outside the region to meet the demand for such highly trained specialists.

There is thus an aggregate net loss to the South of 813 persons of *Who's Who* caliber. Moreover, in general it is demonstrable that the South does not receive man for man the same grade of persons that it sends to other parts of the country. This may be illustrated by using the social scientists as an example of what applies in greater or less degree with the other

groups. Among the distinguished social scientists who have left the region there are in the field of history such individuals as William E. Dodd, the late Ulrich B. Phillips, Thomas J. Wertenbaker, and William R. Shepherd. Political scientists who should be mentioned are the late J. W. Burgess, W. W. and W. F. Willoughby, and F. W. Coker. Some of the economists of national reputation who have left the region of their nativity are Thomas Walker Page, James Harvey Rogers, William Jett Lauck, and W. M. W. Splawn. Well-known psychologists, Southern-born but now located out of the South, include the late James Mark Baldwin, John B. Watson, K. S. Lashley, and Carl Murchison. Sociologists of distinction in the list are W. F. Ogburn, L. L. Bernard, W. I. Thomas, and Ellsworth Faris.

As is well known, education at the graduate level is an important equipment for the sort of distinction registered in *Who's Who*. The accompanying data show, also, how important a factor the place of graduate training is as to whether an individual remains in or removes from the South. Examination of Table III reveals that of the 6,015 Southern-born persons in the 1932-33 *Who's Who*, 2,016 of them received their graduate training in the South. Of these 2,016, there were 1,643, or 81.5 per cent, who remained in the South. No doubt there are two principal factors at work in this connection. One is that of proximity of Southern opportunities and the preference often shown for Southern individuals to fill such positions. The other is that the limitations of graduate schools in the South a quarter of a century or so ago rather inadequately fitted men for active competition outside the South with individuals trained in the better equipped graduate schools of the North and West.



How potent an influence the place of graduate training is upon location of the individual is also reflected by the data in Table IV. Here it is to be observed that of the 1,828 Southern-born persons in the 1932-33 *Who's Who* who received their graduate training out of the South, 1,092 were at that time located outside of the South. This means that approximately

in the present stage of Southern economic and social development who can blame them for migrating? Also, the place of graduate training seems a most important factor, but with the present feeble development of graduate work in most institutions of the region it is necessary that if they are to fulfill their destinies they seek

TABLE III

THE PLACE OF GRADUATE TRAINING AND THE PRESENT LOCATION OF DISTINGUISHED SOUTHERN-BORN PERSONS IN WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA, 1932-33

CLASSIFICATION	NUMBER WHO RECEIVED GRADUATE TRAINING IN SOUTH	NUMBER RECEIVING GRADUATE TRAINING IN SOUTH AT PRESENT LOCATED IN SOUTH	PERCENTAGE RECEIVING GRADUATE TRAINING IN SOUTH AT PRESENT LOCATED IN SOUTH
Religious Workers.....	486	396	81.5
Lawyers and Judges.....	463	389	84.0
Doctors.....	195	146	75.4
Educators.....	395	354	89.6
Editors and Authors.....	88	59	67.0
Architects and Engineers...	33	25	75.8
Business Men and Bankers..	60	46	76.7
Actors, Artists.....	5	1	20.0
Politicians and Diplomats..	203	178	87.7
Social Workers.....	5	5	100.0
Army and Navy Officers....	15	4	26.7
Natural Scientists.....	23	13	56.5
Social Scientists.....	18	12	66.7
Agricultural Group.....	14	7	50.0
All others.....	13	8	61.5
Totals.....	2,016	1,643	81.5

60 per cent of the natives of the South of *Who's Who* distinction that leave the South for graduate training leave it permanently.

The data presented in this paper would seem to warrant the conclusion that the South is a heavy contributor of its best leadership to other parts of the nation, perhaps to its own serious detriment. Yet

TABLE IV

THE PLACE OF GRADUATE TRAINING AND THE PRESENT LOCATION OF DISTINGUISHED SOUTHERN-BORN PERSONS IN WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA, 1932-33

CLASSIFICATION	NUMBER WHO RECEIVED GRADUATE TRAINING OUTSIDE OF SOUTH	NUMBER RECEIVING GRADUATE TRAINING OUTSIDE OF SOUTH AT PRESENT LOCATED OUT OF SOUTH	PERCENTAGE RECEIVING GRADUATE TRAINING OUTSIDE OF SOUTH AT PRESENT LOCATED OUT OF SOUTH
Religious Workers.....	190	158	83.2
Lawyers and Judges.....	190	121	63.7
Doctors.....	238	130	54.6
Educators.....	541	220	40.7
Editors and Authors.....	118	81	68.6
Architects and Engineers...	45	33	73.3
Business Men and Bankers..	56	33	58.9
Actors, Artists.....	62	52	83.9
Politicians and Diplomats..	73	44	60.3
Social Workers.....	3	3	100.0
Army and Navy Officers....	116	95	81.9
Natural Scientists.....	99	64	64.8
Social Scientists.....	66	41	62.1
Agricultural Group.....	24	12	50.0
All others.....	7	5	71.4
Totals.....	1,828	1,092	59.7

out the larger and better equipped universities of the North and West. Thus the cause of the loss is largely one of lack of economic opportunity and the facilities for equipment for such opportunities. Then, the solution must be the fuller realization and the exploitation of the extensive natural and social resources of the South and the development of a

number of high grade graduate schools in the region—as good as those to be found anywhere. With such facilities it is believed that the South has enough superior, undiscovered and unexploited human talent to supply abundantly its own

needs for leadership and at the same time contribute generously to other parts of the nation. If this be true, and it is believed that it is, then the concern is national rather than regional in scope, and deserves such broad recognition and support.

## CAPITAL IN RELATION TO OPTIMUM POPULATION

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IN AN age of emphasis on social planning and social control, a question is frequently raised as to whether the natural resources of a country are adequate to support its people under conditions favorable to economic and social welfare. This involves the question of whether the area is over-populated or under-populated, and of how large the population ought to be in order best to realize the objectives of the society. This article purports to show the relation between the growth of population and the formation of capital with special reference to the concept of optimum population.

### THE COST OF PRODUCING A WORKER

From the purely economic point of view, a human being is regarded solely as a worker, as an owner of property, and as a consumer. Economic science does not intrude, except incidentally, upon other aspects of life, though the economist is the first to concede that there are other such aspects. Thus, if a human being be regarded from the standpoint of his capacity as a worker, it is possible to analyze the social cost involved in producing him, i.e., in producing an adult worker.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. William Petty, *Political Arithmetick*, 3 ed., London, 1699, p. 192; Richard Cantillon, *Essai sur la Nature du Commerce en Général*, edited by Henry Higgs, London, 1931, pp. 30-42; Adam Smith,

The expenses involved in (1) bringing a child into the world, (2) maintaining the child until he reaches maturity and becomes a productive worker, and (3) educating the child are the direct social costs connected with producing an adult worker. In addition to these there are indirect costs. (1) A certain proportion of children die before reaching the age of economic productivity, and (2) a certain proportion of individuals who reach maturity do not become economic producers because of either incapacity, indolence, or lack of necessity.<sup>2</sup> The expenses of rearing these two groups are the indirect costs involved in the production of a working population and obviously must be added to the direct costs in determining the average cost of producing workers. At any time, the proportion of children who will die before reaching maturity and the proportion who will not become producers after reaching maturity are reasonably predictable.

Bringing a child into the world, rearing

*Wealth of Nations*, Book I, Chap. VIII; J. S. Nicholson, "The Living Capital of the United Kingdom," *Economic Journal*, Mar. 1891, pp. 95-107; Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics*, 8 ed., London, 1930, pp. 564-5; Louis I. Dublin and Alfred J. Lotka, *The Money Value of a Man*, New York, 1930, Chap. III.

<sup>2</sup> This assumes that housewives and mothers are economically productive and are therefore to be regarded as workers.

him, and educating him involve expenditure not only by his parents but also by the government. As a result of these expenditures, money which might otherwise have been diverted to capital investment or might have been spent in improving the immediate standard of living of parents and taxpayers, are perforce spent on the child, are invested in him. Thus the cost of producing the adult working population must include the interest on the money invested by parents and by the government plus the interest on the money invested in those individuals who do not become productive workers.<sup>3</sup>

The average cost (including indirect costs) of producing an adult worker may be expressed by means of the following equations.

$$A = b(1+i)^p + \frac{m[(1+i)^p - 1]}{i} + \frac{e[(1+i)^{p-q} - 1]}{i}$$

$$B = b(1+i)^p + \frac{m[(1+i)^r - 1]}{i} (1+i)^{p-r} + \frac{e[(1+i)^{r-s} - 1]}{i} (1+i)^{p-r}$$

$$C = \frac{A(n + n^1) + Bn^{11}}{n}$$

<sup>3</sup> Dublin and Lotka have made careful and exact estimates of the cost of producing an adult. They include in the cost the following: (1) cost of birth, (2) cost of food, (3) cost of clothing and shelter, (4) household expenses allocable to children, (5) cost of education, (6) expenditures for health, (7) miscellaneous expenditures including recreation, insurance, laundry, sundries, etc., (8) cost of spoilage (premature death), (9) charges for interest, and (10) allowance for the money value of the mother's services. On the basis of these costs, assuming interest at 3½ per cent and neglecting earnings of children, they have calculated that the average gross cost involved in bringing a child up to the age of 18 years is \$10,485. Louis I. Dublin and Alfred J. Lotka, *op. cit.*, Chap. III.

where:

- A = Average direct cost of producing an adult
- B = Average cost incurred in producing those individuals who die before reaching maturity
- C = Average total cost (including indirect costs) of producing an adult worker
- b = Average expense incurred in connection with a birth
- m = Average annual cost of maintaining a child
- e = Average annual cost of educating a child
- i = Rate of interest
- p = Average number of years required for an individual to reach the age of economic productivity
- q = Average number of years (before maturity) during which children do not receive education
- r = Average number of years of life of those who die before reaching the age of economic productivity
- s = Average number of years during which education is not received by those who die before reaching maturity
- n = Number of individuals per year who become productive workers
- n<sup>1</sup> = Number of individuals per year who attain maturity but do not become productive workers
- n<sup>11</sup> = Number of individuals per year who would have attained maturity but who died before reaching a productive age

#### GROWTH OF POPULATION AND THE FORMATION OF CAPITAL

From the social point of view, population and capital, whether new or replacement, are created as a result of the same process: namely, of waiting and of sacrifice of present consumption. The creation of productive capital requires a time between the decision to invest and the actual completion of the capital goods; and the return from the investment is yielded through the life of the capital goods. Similarly, in the creation of productive workers, a period of time must elapse between birth (or conception) and maturity; and the income of the worker may be received only during his lifetime. In other words, the returns from both capital and labor are

available only as a result of waiting, or of the elapse of time.

Further, the creation of capital involves a foregoing of present consumption; and the rearing of future workers likewise requires an abstinence from current consumption on the part of parents who support children and of taxpayers who pay for schools and other juvenile institutions. In a sense, rearing new population may be regarded, from the social point of view, as the formation of a special kind of productive capital.

The mere similarity in the process by which capital and labor are created does not exhaust the interrelationship between the formation of capital and the growth of population, because the two are competing processes. The amount of saving in a society is a function, as much as of anything else, of the rate of population growth. If the population is growing rapidly, and if families are large, the surplus of income available for saving and investment will be relatively small. Even among the rich, the expenses of large families tend to encroach materially upon funds which would otherwise be saved. And among the lower income groups, the influence of large families upon the amount of savings is obvious. Hence, the conclusion follows that investment in new population is at least partially at the expense of investment in capital, and partially, of course, at the expense of current consumption by parents and taxpayers.<sup>4</sup>

The inverse of this conclusion, namely, that investment in capital and expendi-

tures for current consumption are at the expense of population growth is also true to a considerable extent. In this modern age of widespread birth control, a large proportion of families tend to limit the number of offspring in such a way as to maintain a predetermined scale of living. Thus, the size of families is often restricted so that the expenses of rearing children do not encroach too far upon accustomed luxuries nor too far upon that rate of saving which is calculated to provide against old age or the "rainy day."<sup>5</sup>

#### THE CONCEPT OF OPTIMUM POPULATION

The relation between the growth of capital and of population has direct bearing upon the concept of optimum population. From the economic point of view, assuming a given state of the arts, the population of an area is said to be of optimum size when the average productivity per capita is at a maximum.<sup>6</sup> An increase in the population tends (1) to make possible improved economic organization (increasing returns), but (2) to bring into play the general force of diminishing returns from natural resources. Thus, as a result of the balancing of these two opposing tendencies, there is said to be one size of population such that the *per capita* productivity is at a maximum. Any variation from this size is supposed to result in a decrease of per capita productivity.

<sup>4</sup> When the population is growing, a greater proportion of investments will be made in housing and other durable capital of an essentially consumptive nature. This has the effect of tending to withdraw capital from industries engaged in the production of consumable goods, and hence of restricting the per capita output. Cf. Gustav Cassel, *Theory of Social Economy*, New York, 1932, p. 221.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. W. S. Thompson, *Population Problems*, New York, 1935, pp. 422-433; A. B. Wolfe, in L. I. Dublin, *Population Problems*, New York, 1926, pp. 65-68; Lionel Robbins, *London Essays in Economics: in Honour of Edwin Cannan*, London, 1927, p. 120.

<sup>6</sup> In this connection, Lionel Robbins says, "It is true that with every mouth God sends a pair of hands. But it is not true that with every mouth there comes a silver spoon. . . . It is one of the great unsolved questions of our modern world whether, with our unprecedented degree of taxation, we can save enough to keep pace with the growth of population." *London Essays in Economics: in Honour of Edwin Cannan*, London, 1927, p. 122.

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## IMPLICIT ASSUMPTIONS

This statement of the concept of optimum population assumes that with a variation in the size of the population there will be (1) no change in the state of the arts, (2) no alteration in the distribution of wealth and income among the various classes, (3) no change in the age composition or quality of the population. If any one of these factors is altered, then fundamental conditions will be changed so that the size of population which will be optimum under these new conditions may be quite different from that under the old.<sup>7</sup>

It is further assumed, probably without sufficient justification, that a variation in the size of the population will be accompanied by either (1) no change in the amount of capital or (2) by an increase in the amount of capital proportionate to the increase in numbers.

However, in view of the relation between the growth of capital and of population, as shown above, either of these assumptions regarding capital seems wholly unwarranted. An increase in population can only be brought about at the expense of capital formation or of current consumption.<sup>8</sup> And a decrease in population frees income (which would otherwise have been invested in young human beings) for increased capital formation or consumption. Thus, assuming that a certain proportion of the social income is available for investment, either in new population or in new capital, any increase or decrease in population must influence inversely the growth of capital.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Lionel Robbins, *London Essays in Economics*, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-123.

<sup>8</sup> When population is increasing at the rate of 2,000,000 per year, as was true in the United States during the decade 1920-1930, the amount of investment in new population is tremendous, especially in view of the fact that the cost of rearing a human being up to the age of 18 years is estimated to be more than \$10,000.

In view of the two facts that changes in population can be expected to result in variations in the amount of capital (both absolutely and relatively to the number of people), and that variations in the amount of capital influence the amount of per capita productivity, it seems clear that a valid theory of optimum population cannot take too much for granted regarding capital. The entire concept requires modification.

## CONCLUSION

There are two conditions which are prerequisite to the attainment of an optimum population: (1) there must be an optimum balance between the number of people and the extent of natural resources, taking into account the influence of numbers in the improvement of productive organization, and (2) there must be an optimum balance between the amount of capital and the number of people.

Within wide limits, the more capital there is in a society in relation to the population, the greater will be the per capita productivity. This is strictly parallel to the proposition that, within wide limits, the more natural resources there are in a society in relation to the population, the greater will be the productivity. Ordinarily, the amount of resources is fixed, but the amount of capital is not limited, rather is constantly growing. Maximum productivity per capita may therefore be reached, at a given state of the arts, only when the population is at an optimum in relation to natural resources and when the amount of capital is at an optimum, i.e., is of such amount that a small increase or decrease in capital leads to a decline in per capita productivity.

No society has ever approached the amount of capital, as thus defined. The amount of capital has always been far

short of that which could be used in increasing the per capita productivity. The fact that saving does not proceed at a sufficiently rapid pace to build up this quantity of capital indicates that the desire for immediate consumption is greater than the stimuli leading to the formation of capital, and that the growth of population is partly regulated by other than economic considerations.

Strictly speaking, the population of a society is not of optimum size unless that society possesses as much capital as can be effectively employed toward the end of increasing the per capita productivity. Whenever a society has less than this amount of capital, it means that investment in capital has been deficient (assuming that maximum per capita productivity is the desired end).

With a fixed quantity of natural resources and at a given state of the arts, a population may be regarded as optimum when the number of people and the amount of capital are so adjusted that the productivity per capita is at a maximum. Under these conditions, a small change in the relation between the amount of

capital, the extent of natural resources, and the number of people would result in a decline in per capita productivity.

This may be stated mathematically in the following equations. Optimum population is attained when  $\frac{P}{N}$  is at a maximum.

$$\frac{P}{N} = (f) \frac{C + N}{R}$$

$$C = (f)N$$

where:

P = total product of the society

N = total number of people in the society

C = total amount of capital

R = total amount of natural resources

To speak of optimum population without special reference to the amount of capital or without valid assumptions regarding capital involves one or more of several basic fallacies: (1) that the growth of population and of capital are unrelated, or (2) that the growth of capital will automatically keep pace with population, or (3) that a favorable balance between people and natural resources is more significant than a favorable balance between people and capital.

### A MANUAL FOR SOUTHERN REGIONS

The study manual for *Southern Regions of the United States* authorized by the Institute on Southern Regional Development and the Social Sciences in June, 1936, is now in press and will be ready for summer school use in 1937. It contains twenty-four units of study, each with aims, reading material, definitions, questions, map interpretations, topics for debate, and general guidance. In size it will correspond to the basic text from which some of the illustrative plates will be reproduced; the number of pages approximately 125. The *Manual for Southern Regions*, as it will be entitled, is the work of Lee M. Brooks, assisted by Wayland J. Hayes, Harry E. Moore, and J. J. Rhyne.



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## TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### SPATIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL CHANGES OF PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE TO THE STUDENT OF POPULATION MOBILITY

C. E. LIVELY

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**A**N IMPORTANT characteristic of Occidental societies is the large amount of mobility of the population. This mobility, which has apparently been on the increase for some time, comes to possess considerable social and economic significance and is related directly or indirectly to many current problems requiring social adjustment. As a result, an increasing amount of statistical research is being conducted in this field. The subject matter for such research is exceedingly varied, however, and satisfactory statistical units are somewhat difficult to determine. It is the purpose of this paper to consider some of the significant variations in mobility with a view to assisting in the matter of definition.

#### SPATIAL MOBILITY

Three general types of movement in space may be distinguished: (1) circulation from a fixed domicile;<sup>1</sup> (2) movement of domicile; and (3) transiency. These may be considered in order.

The term "domicile" is subject to the

<sup>1</sup> The term "domicile" is preferable in most cases to the term "residence" which carries legal and political connotations.

same difficulties of definition as the term "dwelling." In the study of mobility, however, the problem is not that of determining whether the place of abode constitutes a "dwelling" but rather that of determining the relative fixity and spatial position of that abode. Circulation of individuals from place of abode, however fixed, often constitutes a useful subject for study. It includes such movements as commuting to place of employment, circulation for recreational and social contacts, movements of children to and from school, trips to town made by the farmer and his family for business and other purposes and many other types of mobility. These movements must necessarily be considered from such standpoints as frequency of occurrence, distances involved, purpose, time required, means of transportation and the like. So far, in American studies of mobility, no great interest has been manifested in this type of movement, although some studies of the contacts of the farmer have been made.<sup>2</sup> Analysis of this type

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, H. J. Burt, *Contacts in a Rural Community*. Missouri Agri. Expt. Station, Research Bull. No. 125; E. L. Kirkpatrick and Others, *Rural Organization and the Farm Family*. Wisconsin Agri. Expt. Station Research Bull. 96; H. W. Beers, *Measure-*

of mobility might be useful in connection with studies of socialization, accessibility of social and economic service agencies, family integration, and types of public reached by given service agencies, to mention only a few.

So far, chief interest in mobility studies has centered about change of domicile, or movements involving such change. However, change of domicile represents a type of mobility that requires both definition and limitation for purposes of specific investigation. For some purposes, for example, it might be desirable to regard an unmarried child who, with parental support, has gone to college for a term as having changed his domicile. For many purposes, however, such a move would not be so regarded. Again, movement of a family from one apartment to another within the same building might possess considerable significance for the family in question, but would probably be of little or no importance to the community. In like manner, the movements of families from apartments to detached houses, or vice versa, or movements of families into the incorporated area from without, or vice versa, may possess considerable significance for the community or county but very little significance for the state. Hence, we arrive at the conclusion that the significance of change of domicile is relative to the purpose of study, and that for any given investigation only change of domicile of certain sorts are likely to be significant. The following classification of types of change of domicile is suggested

to assist the investigator in delimiting his investigation properly in accordance with the purpose of his study.

#### *Classification of Changes of Domicile*

1. Shifts from one room or apartment to another in same building.
2. Shifts from one building to another (including shifts from farm to farm).
  - a. On same lot, farm or at same address.
  - b. From ward to ward within an urban corporation.
  - c. Within same village or city corporation or within open country area of same township or similar local subdivision.
  - d. Open country to village, or vice versa, and open country to city, or vice versa within limits of the same township.
  - e. Within open country, village to village, and open country to village or city and vice versa in which township lines are crossed, but within same county or parish.
  - f. Same as (e) in which county lines are crossed within the same state.
    - 1) One county line only (movement to adjacent counties).
    - 2) Two or more county lines (movement to nonadjacent counties).
  - g. Same as (e) in which state lines are crossed.
    - 1) One state line only (movement to adjacent states).
    - 2) Two or more state lines (movement to nonadjacent states).
  - h. International movements.

It is believed that the above outline includes most of the socially significant changes of domicile arranged in the order of the approximate radial distance from any point of origin. It will be noted that the unit area of significance is increased in size as the distance from the local area of study increases. This is done partly in the interests of simplification and partly because of the fact that the number of cases decreases at a very rapid rate as the distance increases. The student of spatial mobility will soon learn that for most families the distances involved in change of domicile are relatively short, and that political boundaries condition these movements to a considerable degree. Few

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*ments of Family Relationships in Farm Families of Central New York.* Cornell Agri. Expt. Station, Memoir 183. W. V. Dennis, *Social Activities of the Families in the Unionville District, Chester County, Pennsylvania.* Penn. Agri. Expt. Station, Bull. 286; D. E. Lindstrom, *Forces Affecting Participation of Farm People in Rural Organization.* Illinois Agri. Expt. Station, Bull. 423.

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families move farther than the county adjacent to the county of origin. This is particularly true of families engaged in agriculture. Single persons and persons moving from agriculture to non-agricultural occupations are more likely to move longer distances and to proceed directly to cities of considerable size.<sup>3</sup> The investigator, therefore, may increase or decrease at will the amount of mobility obtained by varying the size of the area in which a change of domicile is regarded as significant. That is to say, if shifts from house to house within the limits of township or village are included within the scope of a given investigation many more "moves" will be obtained than would be the case if only intertownship or inter-village shifts were admitted. It is scarcely necessary to add that the amount of mobility obtained will vary also with the length of the time period covered.

For short distances, especially, a measure of the maximum radial distance moved from the place of origin is significant. This is different from the total distance moved. The bulk of the population changing domicile during a given period of time tends, by a series of short moves, to circulate within a restricted area. For many purposes, the number of such moves made, and even the actual distances traversed, may be important. These measures become more significant, however, if the size of the area of circulation is also known. This is indicated approximately by the radial distance measure.

The radial distance of movement from place of origin may be measured either in terms of mileage or in terms of concentric

political units. In the interests of accuracy, the investigator is likely to favor the former. Because of its simplicity and relative accuracy, he is more likely to use the latter. Elsewhere<sup>4</sup> I have shown that in those sections of the country where the political boundaries are rectangular and relatively regular, the correlation between radial distance measured in terms of mileage and radial distance measured in terms of concentric political units is very high. In some sections, where the size and shape of counties are very irregular, as in Arizona, the student will need to give special consideration to the relation of concentric political units to distance before proceeding.

In addition to the advantage of its expediency, the use of concentric political units as a measure of radial distance may perhaps be justified on other grounds. It would seem that migrants do not move a given number of miles, merely. Rather, the mileage is incidental to the fact that they proceed from one socio-political unit to another. Other things being equal, distance is a strong deterrent to most migrants, yet it is equally true that the drawing power of the community of destination is of greater significance than a small mileage differential. The exact relationships here are still unknown.<sup>5</sup>

Once the mobility record obtained is oriented with reference to the local or sample area in the above manner, the student should proceed to study directions, migration routes and areas of special concentration.

It is important to note in this connection that "change of domicile" does not

<sup>3</sup> On these points see P. Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, ch. 26; C. E. Lively and P. G. Beck, *Movement of Open Country Population in Ohio*. Ohio Agri. Expt. Station, Bulls. 267 and 289; C. E. Lively, "Population Mobility," *Rural Sociology* 1, 40-53.

<sup>4</sup> C. E. Lively, "Spatial Mobility of the Rural Population with Respect to Local Areas," *American Journal of Sociology*, March 1937.

<sup>5</sup> See the formula suggested by E. C. Young, *The Movement of Farm Population*. Cornell Agri. Expt. Station, Bull. 42.

necessarily imply movement from one known fixed abode to another similar abode. A change of domicile has been effected when a family has vacated a place of abode even though the destination is unknown or not fixed. The same may be said for the arrival of a family at a new place of abode. Thus, when a family takes to a trailer or to the open road, or vice versa, a change of domicile has occurred, even though the destination, or origin, may have to be stated as unknown.

Transiency<sup>6</sup> represents a state of more or less continuous mobility with no fixed domicile. The domicile is a day to day affair, often makeshift in nature. In such cases it is incorrect to speak of change of domicile. Change in location and mode of shelter is a better designation. Here, also, the notion of number of moves fails to apply, although it is important to determine the frequency and length of stops made. Most important is the itinerary of wanderings together with the mode and means of travel. Origin, ultimate destination, and the time period involved are also significant factors. The problems of measurement of spatial mobility, however, are not essentially different from those involved in change of domicile.

#### OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Of scarcely less importance than spatial mobility is occupational mobility. Yet scientific investigation of occupational changes is perhaps equally difficult to achieve. Occupational definition alone is sufficiently difficult. The catalogs of specific occupations developed by the U. S. Bureau of the Census<sup>7</sup> and by the Works

Progress Administration<sup>8</sup> illustrate the detail and care necessary to complete this task. Yet these classifications deal with jobs only. Reasoning from them, it might be concluded that occupational mobility consists of movement from job to job, i.e., from a job of one kind to a job of another kind. Such a conclusion would over-simplify the matter, however. Occupational mobility involves change in occupational status as well as change in nature of job. If this be true, it follows that such shifts as change of industry without change in work performed, change from status of employee to that of entrepreneur, or vice versa, without change in work performed, and change from employment to unemployment, or vice versa, represent important aspects of occupational mobility since they represent changes of occupational status. The following outline suggests those changes in occupational status that should be included within the scope of studies of occupational mobility.

#### *Suggested Outline of Significant Changes of Occupational Status<sup>9</sup>*

1. All Persons—each change from employment to unemployment or vice versa. (Definitions of what constitutes employment may vary.)
2. Entrepreneurs—
  - a. Farm Operators—each change in tenure status.
  - b. All Others—
    - 1) Each change by which worker alters the field of his activity. (Example: Change from grocer to dry goods merchant.)
    - 2) Each change from ownership to non-ownership of business, or vice versa.
    - 3) Each change by which an entrepreneur becomes an employee.
3. Employees—
  - a. Each change in kind of work.
    - 1) Change from one kind of work to another which requires more or less skill or

<sup>6</sup> See J. N. Webb, *The Transient Unemployed*. Works Progress Administration, Research Monograph III, Washington, 1935; California Relief Administration, *Transients in California*. Mimeographed Report, 1936; Nels Anderson, *The Hobo*, Chicago, 1923.

<sup>7</sup> *Alphabetical Index of Occupations*. Fifteenth Census of the United States.

<sup>8</sup> *Index of Occupations*. Circular No. 22, 1935.

<sup>9</sup> This outline was developed jointly by the author and Dr. Conrad Taeuber.

training, and/or pays higher or lower wages than the job at which previously employed.

- 2) Change from employee to entrepreneur.
- b. Each change in location of work and employer whether or not it involves a change in kind of work.

Detailed tabulation of occupational shifts according to this outline would lead to a more elaborate pattern of occupational mobility than that represented by the industrial and the socio-economic classifications now in use.

## STUDENT INTEREST IN CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS

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SOME of the modern human problems are bright with appeal even to dull students; others are dull even to bright students. In either case, carefully directed study gives new and better focused light. And, it must be admitted, the sociological problems take the lead over the economic and political, at least among women students. The data in hand are derived from objective checking of the problem interests of southern college women.<sup>1</sup>

If two dozen socio-politico-economic problems are shuffled into a list and then ranked according to the degree of interest they hold for the student, the result will be something like this: marriage and the family will take first place, health and crime will come next, with vocational and recreational problems, religion, science, race, social work, international relations, government, social security, and labor lining up to complete the top half of the list. The lower half will include the more technical economic, political, and legal problems. As indicated in Table I, the forty-seven men who are sketched in as tabular background reveal few interests that diverge markedly from those of the women. The personal or primary type of problem tends to stand high in the ranking; the impersonal or

secondary type, to be rated lower. However, as the study program advances through the year, interest in some of the low-rated items noticeably increases as shown in columns *c.* and *d.* of Table I. In other words, some of these problems that were at first judged so secondary or detached, will, after even brief study, appear more meaningful to the student.

Another aspect of interest-shift is revealed in Table II. Here it is seen that the aggregate interest also increases as the study proceeds, at least there is a definite movement from little interest into more interest. Notice, for example, such items as Crime, Race, Population, Land and its resources, and others.

It is clear, of course, from Table I that it was the Alabama group—conducted through the nine academic months—that made possible the re-check data. Concerning method it should be said that after each balloting, as in September and January, no hint was given the students that another inquiry would be made. The second (January) ballot was quite independent of the first (September), and the third (May) was likewise independent of the second. At each voting any memory of earlier checking item by item had doubtless faded. The most significant thing about Table II is this: in the September rating before any problem had been studied, more check marks were placed in the "Little or No Interest" column than

<sup>1</sup> The author conducted the course in Contemporary Problems at Alabama College as loan professor for the year 1935-1936.

TABLE II

RANKING OF PROBLEMS BY 307 SOUTHERN COLLEGE WOMEN OF VIRGINIA, NORTH CAROLINA, FLORIDA, AND ALABAMA IN SIX SEPARATE BALLOTINGS COMBINING COLUMNS A, B, C, D		RANKING BY 157 COLLEGE WOMEN NOT STUDYING CONT. PROB.	RANKINGS BY 150 ALABAMA COLLEGE WOMEN					RANKING BY 47 COLLEGE MEN OF NORTH CAROLINA
			Sept. before starting study	1st semester problems	Jan. after problems * had been studied	2nd semester problems	May after problems ** had been studied	
		a.	b.	*	c.	**	d.	e.
1	Marriage—Family	1	3		1	**	1	2
2	Women—Children	2	1		2	(**)	2	11
3	Health	6	2		3		4	2
4	Crime	3	6		6	**	3	3
5	Recreation—Leisure	4	4		4	**	8	11
6	Vocational Opportunities	8	5		5		6	8
7	Religion—Science	7	7		7	**	7	4
8	Race	11	10		9	**	5	9
9	Social Work—Philanthropy	5	8		13		10	20
10	International Relations	9	9		16	**	9	5
11	Government	12	11	*	10		12	13
12	Social Security	10	14	*	8		11	10
13	Labor	13	12	*	11		13	13
14	Social Effects of Inventions	14	13		15		18	18
15	Consumer	16	16	(*)	16		18	17
16	Business—Industry	15	15	*	14		22	6
17	Rural Life and Planning	20	17	(*)	18		16	24
18	Politics	17	19	(*)	19		20	15
19	Population	25	22	*	12		19	15
20	Taxation—Public Finance	18	18	*	20		21	6
21	City Life and Planning	21	20		23	(**)	15	25
22	Land—Resources	25	23		22	**	14	21
23	Communication—Transport	19	21		24		23	19
24	Money—Banking	22	24	*	21		25	22
25	Law—Legal Practices	23	25		25		24	23

(\*) (\*\*) indicate that the problem was marginal or secondary to some other problem head, for instance, the discussion of Politics was incidental to Government.

† Table I: Column *a* represents three combined rankings made possible by the cooperation of women students at Mary Baldwin College, Florida State College for Women, and the University of North Carolina Women's College; Columns *b*, *c* and *d* show three separate rankings at the beginning, middle, and end of the academic year 1935-1936 for 150 Alabama College women in a required continuous course for most of the sophomore class. Column *e* is included as a bit of "male student" background. Both Columns *a* and *e* are quasi control groups.

The age distribution of the 150 Alabama students was as follows: 17-18 years, 19 per cent; 19 years, 45 per cent; 20 years, 24 per cent; 21 years and over, 12 per cent.

The total 307 students was composed as follows: Sophomores, 63 per cent; Juniors, 21.5 per cent; Seniors, 12.5 per cent; Freshmen, 3.0 per cent.

ever appeared there again. The elevation of interest from 521 to 281 and then finally to 228 is not without significance.

In connection with those political, legal, fiscal, and technical problems that maintain their remote standing after as



TABLE II\*

On the original check list or ballot, four columns were provided for registering degrees of interest: (1) Little or No Interest; (2) Moderate Interest; (3) Considerable Interest; (4) Very Much Interest. The figures below mean that as the year of study progressed with the 150 Alabama College women, the aggregate interest moved into (2), (3), or (4). The three columns below record only the "Little or No Interest" votes at three points in the academic year 1935-1936.

NUMERALS IN ITALICS AT THE LEFT OF EACH ITEM INDICATE THE MIXED ORDER OF ORIGINAL BALLOT LIST OF PROBLEMS AS PRESENTED TO ALL STUDENTS	FIRST RANKING SEPT., 1935 BEFORE STARTING STUDY	SECOND RANKING JAN., 1936 AFTER STUDYING TEN PROBLEMS	THIRD RANKING MAY, 1936 AFTER STUDYING NINE- TEEN PROBLEMS
18. Marriage—Family.....	4)	2)	2)
23. Women—Children.....	2)	2)	1)
3. Health.....	4)23	3)20	2)12
19. Crime.....	10)	8)	0)
20. Recreation—Leisure.....	3)	5)	7)
22. Vocational Opportunities.....	11)	7)	2)
25. Religion—Science.....	8)	4)	2)
6. Race.....	17)61	3)35	2)19
24. Social Work—Philanthropy.....	14)	10)	8)
11. International Relations.....	11)	11)	5)
4. Government.....	14)	5)	5)
8. Social Security.....	16)	8)	6)
17. Labor.....	11)91	7)36	6)38
16. Social Effects of Inventions.....	20)	10)	7)
13. Consumer.....	30)	6)	14)
2. Business—Industry.....	24)	7)	14)
10. Rural Life and Planning.....	37)	22)	21)
9. Politics.....	43)160	19)68	21)75
1. Population.....	22)	5)	3)
12. Taxation—Public Finance.....	34)	15)	16)
5. City Life and Planning.....	26)	24)	13)
15. Land—Resources.....	36)	19)	9)
21. Communication—Transportation.....	28)186	22)121	14)84
7. Money—Banking.....	41)	22)	23)
14. Law—Legal Practices.....	55)	35)	25)
Total.....	521	281	228

\* It should be noted that the italicized numbers refer to the order in which the problem items appeared on the ballot which all students completed. Thus the list was shuffled rather than logically arranged, the first item reading: "Population (eugenics, migrations, etc.);" and the last or 25th in the list, "Religion and Science (changing views, dynamics)." The linkage of "Social Work and Philanthropy" and the separation of such items as "Government" and "Politics" have no justification, perhaps, in the minds of discriminating students and specialists, but since the purpose of this exploratory study was to open up general rather than specific fields of study in terms of common understanding to the uninitiated, it is doubtful if any serious unreliability attaches to the findings by reason of loose designation of problem heads in a few instances.

well as before they are studied, it is quite likely that with increased attention to such subjects in the vitalized teaching process, greater regard for them will develop. Laski has asked a question difficult to answer: "Why don't your

young men (and women) care?" This calls for exploration, discussion, and perhaps new evaluations not only within the curriculum but also with regard to government, business, and the professions themselves. (In Table I, column *d*. with crime at the top, why so little heightening of interest in the tributary problem of law and legal practice? Here Table II may be more significant in showing the 55-35-25 shift away from "no interest"). Technical planners viewing the problems of towns and regions, of housing and community improvement, have stressed the need for sociological collaboration in the planning of tomorrow's living and industrial-agricultural development. In these subjects there can be a concreteness, a timeliness, a nearness-to-life that once it is envisaged will mean new understanding. (In both Tables I and II the movement of the Land-resources item illustrates this point.) In short, all these problems can be profitably studied in the light of needed social adjustment to an age of science and technology.

As for the study program itself, students are not going to be satisfied with an approach to contemporary problems that neglects such compelling problems as the Family, Crime, and Race. Any college or university that fences in its social science behind history, government, and economics would seem to be out of step with the times and is sure ultimately to hear the protest of thoughtful students. All over the country today college authorities are awakening to the need of curriculum revision. Perhaps all this means progress. Rut-bound vested interests, academic and

non-academic, that would slight or stifle the consideration of the most compelling sociological problems, will have to reckon not only with the growing needs but also with the demands of modern students whose voices will be heard if education is to remain democratic. Here and there in the South, quite generally in the West, and even lately in New England, liberalized study of un-fenced problems is well under way. Time will tell whether this interest is a "mere passing fad."

Since this article is primarily a presentation of tabular results of fruitful experience in Alabama, it is not fitting here to deal at length with the actual teaching of such a course.<sup>2</sup> The directing of a problems course is essentially the same for women as for men, for one region as for another. Skill in execution; variety in subject matter; effective and timely connection and inter-connection; willingness to minimize "no trespassing signs" that would block free exploration; yet tolerance always in terms of place, people, and tradition; emphasis upon controlled discussion in student sections not too large; and zestful leading that will induce enthusiasm,—these are among the indispensables. To lead students toward the comprehensive viewpoint, to stir them through their own thinking to constructive action,—these are some of the privileges of the teacher who would help students to find their way in the midst of problems which are becoming more and more complex.

<sup>2</sup> See the author's "The College Teaching of Contemporary Problems," *Education*, November, 1936, pages 130-135.

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## CULTURAL CHANGE AND CHANGES IN POPULAR LITERATURE

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THERE has been frequent comment as to the social importance of the increasing body of popular literature, especially periodical literature, and the rôle of this literature in shaping the opinions of the average citizen. Casual observation might lead one to suppose that there had always been in this country an abundance of popular literature available to the adult public. The student of American society, of course, knows that this is not the case, although he may not know how widely the rates of growth in such reading material have varied, or how the material has changed in character. The present article traces the growth in amount and change in character of periodical material, and points out certain relations between that material and the changing intellectual life of the country.

## GROWTH IN CIRCULATION OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE IN GENERAL

The growth in circulation of newspapers and periodicals, and the relation of that growth to the growth in population, is shown numerically in Table I and graphically in Figure I.

For nearly 120 years there was a continuous per capita increase in the number of copies of newspapers and periodicals. The increase was much more rapid from 1880 to 1927 than in earlier times, although a significant upward trend is apparent from 1830 to 1880. So great has been the total increase, that at the end of the period studied more than fifty times as many copies of newspapers and periodicals appeared per capita as in 1810. The increased availability of periodical material for the average person is of

TABLE I

POPULATION, NUMBER OF COPIES OF NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS OF ALL CLASSES ISSUED PER YEAR, AND NUMBER OF COPIES PER PERSON, FOR CERTAIN YEARS FROM 1810 TO 1929

YEAR	POPULATION (IN THOUSANDS)	COPIES ISSUED ANNUALLY (IN THOUSANDS)	COPIES PER PERSON
1810	7,240	22,322 <sup>a</sup>	3.1
1828	12,220 <sup>E</sup>	68,118 <sup>a</sup>	5.6
1840	17,069	195,839 <sup>a</sup>	11.5
1850	23,192	426,410 <sup>a</sup>	18.4
1860	31,443	927,952 <sup>b</sup>	29.5
1870	38,558	1,508,548 <sup>b</sup>	39.1
1880	50,156	2,067,848 <sup>b</sup>	41.2
1890	62,948	4,681,114 <sup>b</sup>	74.4
1900	75,995	8,168,149 <sup>c</sup>	107.5
1909	90,374 <sup>E</sup>	11,591,354 <sup>d</sup>	128.3
1919	104,338 <sup>E</sup>	15,729,203 <sup>e</sup>	150.7
1923	110,487 <sup>E</sup>	16,715,481 <sup>f</sup>	151.3
1927	118,468 <sup>E</sup>	19,741,829 <sup>f</sup>	166.7
1929	121,394 <sup>E</sup>	20,141,020 <sup>g</sup>	165.9

E—estimated. For 1828 the figure indicated is the census figure for 1820, plus  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the increase from 1820 to 1830, for 1909 the census for 1910 minus  $\frac{1}{10}$  of the increase from 1900 to 1910, for 1919 the census for 1920 minus  $\frac{1}{10}$  of the increase from 1910 to 1920. The 1923 figure is the 1924 estimate (Biennial Survey of Education, 1922-24, Bulletin 1926, No. 23, Table 1, p. 350) minus  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the increase from 1920 to 1924. The 1927 figure is the 1928 estimate (Biennial Survey of Education, 1926-28, Bulletin 1930, No. 16, Table 1, p. 452) minus  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the increase from 1925 to 1928. The 1929 figure is the 1928 estimate plus half the difference between that estimate and the 1930 census count.

<sup>a</sup> *Compendium of Seventh Census*: 1850, Table CLXIV, p. 158.

<sup>b</sup> *Eleventh Census of the United States*: 1890, Report on Manufacturing Industries, Part III, p. 652.

<sup>c</sup> *Twelfth Census of the United States*: 1900, Manufactures, Part III, Vol. 9, Table 5, p. 1043.

<sup>d</sup> *Thirteenth Census of the United States*: 1910, Manufactures, Report for Principal Industries, Vol. X, Table 40, p. 788.

<sup>e</sup> Calculated from data presented in *Fourteenth Census of the United States*: 1920, Manufactures,

Reports for Selected Industries, Vol. X, Table 19, p. 581.

<sup>1</sup> Calculated from data presented in United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *Census of Manufactures: 1927*, "Printing and Publishing and Allied Industries," Table 9, p. 16.

\* Do: 1929, Table 9, p. 13.

The calculations mentioned in footnotes e, f, and g were made by multiplying the average circulation of publications of different frequency of issue (daily,

weekly, quarterly, etc.) by the number of issues per year, and adding the products. The sources indicate a small miscellaneous group, "other Classes." Calculations on this group for earlier intervals for which census data for all classes, including the miscellaneous group, are given, indicated that the average per publication of this group was then seventy-five copies per year. This figure was used in making the calculations for the group, as entered in items covered by footnotes e, f, and g.

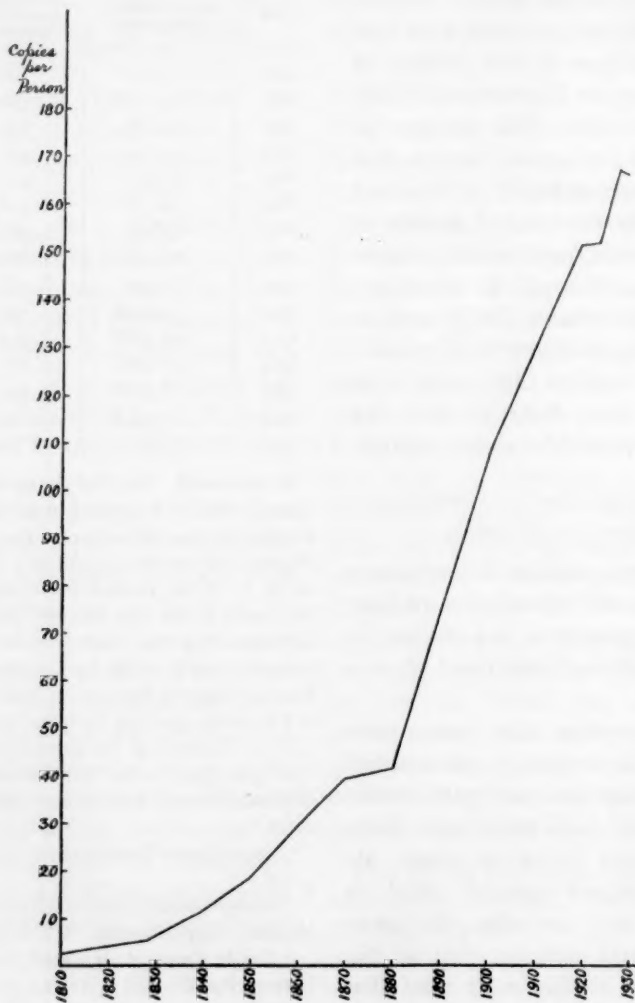


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course greater than the increase in number of copies per person, because people have come to live in cities where libraries make a few copies of a publication available to several persons.

Passing reference may be made to the two plateaus shown on the graph, 1870-80 and 1919-23. Each plateau followed the close of a war, and apparently reflects a decreased interest in reading and intellectual activity often thought to follow such disturbances. The decrease in circulation between 1927 and 1929 should here be noted. Perhaps this decrease is a result of unfavorable economic conditions, in the same sense as are the plateaus.

About 1880, then, a rate of increase in circulation of current literature began, which has been maintained with little change since that time.

#### TYPE OF PUBLICATION ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY OF ISSUE

Marked increase in the total volume of current literature does not necessarily mean that the increase is proportional for all types of publications. Table II indicates changes in relative status from 1850 to 1929 of different types of current literature, classified according to frequency of issue.

A steady increase in circulation of daily publications is shown for the entire period. The percentage increase was greater before 1900 than since that time,<sup>1</sup> but in recent pre-depression years the absolute increases greatly exceeded those of earlier years. Between 1904 and 1929 the circulation of Sunday publications more than doubled. The increase in cir-

culation of monthly publications has also been marked, particularly in recent years.

It seems that the American people are gradually but definitely becoming readers of two types of current literature; daily and Sunday newspapers and monthly magazines. The circulation of tri-weeklies and semi-weeklies in recent years has not expanded in proportion to increases in population, the status of semi-monthly publications fluctuates somewhat, and quarterlies seem to be on a decline.

#### TYPE OF LITERATURE ACCORDING TO INTEREST SERVED

Circulation data, classified according to subject matter, are available for only part of the period thus far considered. Data on the number of publications in different fields, however, give some index of character of interest of the reading public. Table III presents data of this kind.

From 1880 to 1919 the great majority of all publications were in the field of "News, politics, and family reading." Religious publications held second place, and publications in the general field of "Commerce, finance, insurance, railroads, and trade" ranked third. Other classes have varied in ranking from time to time.

It is obvious that fundamental changes occurred in the number of publications in different fields between 1919 and 1927. By 1927 certain periodicals had built up wide circulations, while others were eliminated. Hence the number of publications is in 1927 perhaps less indicative of circulation for particular classes, than it is at earlier intervals. Chief interest in the data for 1927, as compared with earlier data, is in the separate listing of fields relating to automobiles, sports, and motion pictures.

Where available, circulation figures are a better index of relative importance of

<sup>1</sup> Some writers feel that circulation data for these early periods are not very reliable, and it is no doubt well to use caution in interpreting them. See Malcolm M. Willey and Stuart A. Rice, *Community Agencies and Social Life*, p. 156.

TABLE II  
RELATIVE CHANGE, BETWEEN CERTAIN DATES FROM 1850 TO 1929, IN AGGREGATE CIRCULATION PER ISSUE OF NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS, CLASSIFIED  
ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY OF ISSUE  
(In Thousands)

FREQUENCY OF ISSUE	YEAR													
	1850 <sup>a</sup>	1860 <sup>a</sup>	1870 <sup>a</sup>	1880 <sup>a</sup>	1890 <sup>a</sup>	1899 <sup>b</sup>	1904 <sup>c</sup>	1909 <sup>d</sup>	1914 <sup>d</sup>	1919 <sup>d</sup>	1923 <sup>e</sup>	1925 <sup>e</sup>	1927 <sup>e</sup>	1929 <sup>e</sup>
Daily (except Sunday).....	758	1,478	2,602	3,566	8,387	15,102 <sup>f</sup>	19,633	24,212	28,777	33,029	35,733	38,040	42,343	42,948
Sunday.....							12,022	13,347	16,480	19,369	24,512	25,630	27,696	29,012
Tri-weekly.....	76	107	155	68	50	229	296	335	549	492	432	401	469	312
Semi-weekly.....	54	175	247	265	562	2,833	2,937	2,313	2,484	2,020	2,025	1,934	2,027	2,982
Weekly.....	2,945	7,582	10,595	16,267	28,955	34,242 <sup>f</sup>	36,227	40,823	50,337	51,902	47,861	50,815	55,985	53,378
Semi-monthly.....											5,532	6,773	5,956	9,168
Monthly.....	741	3,412	5,651	8,140	19,624	37,870	64,306	63,281	79,191	91,682	91,654	111,876	120,693	133,048
Quarterly.....	26	101	212	1,944	8,125	11,067	11,710	16,058	18,854	18,921	22,198	22,840	21,247	20,605
Other Classes.....	543	808	1,381	1,379	3,437	5,546	2,879	4,094	8,923	5,068	2,097	1,677	2,201	2,346
Aggregate no. of copies per issue—all classes.....	5,143	13,663	20,843	31,629	69,140	106,889	150,010	164,463	205,595	222,483	232,044	259,986	278,617	293,799

<sup>a</sup> *Twelfth Census of the United States, (1900), Manufactures: Part III, Table 15, p. 1046.*

<sup>b</sup> *Thirteenth Census of the United States, (1910), Manufactures: Reports for Selected Industries, Vol. X, Table 41, p. 788.*

<sup>c</sup> *Ibid., also Table 44, p. 789.*

<sup>d</sup> *Fourteenth Census of the United States, (1920), Manufactures: Reports for Selected Industries, Vol. X, Table 19, p. 581.*

<sup>e</sup> United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *Census of Manufacturers, 1929*, "Printing and Publishing and Allied Industries," Table 9, p. 13.

<sup>f</sup> For 1899 the "Daily" line includes Sunday editions of daily papers, and the "Weekly" line includes exclusively Sunday issues.

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different reading interests, than are numbers of publications. Circulation figures for 1927 and 1929 appear in Table IV.

the number of religious publications (Table III), however, are not reflected in circulation increases (Table IV). The

TABLE III

NUMBER OF PUBLICATIONS, ACCORDING TO INTEREST SERVED, APPEARING DURING CERTAIN YEARS FROM 1880 TO 1929 INCLUSIVE

INTEREST OR CHARACTER OF PUBLICATION	NUMBER OF PUBLICATIONS BY YEARS								
	1880 <sup>a</sup>	1890 <sup>a</sup>	1900 <sup>a</sup>	1904 <sup>b</sup>	1909 <sup>b</sup>	1914 <sup>c</sup>	1919 <sup>c</sup>	1927 <sup>d</sup>	1929 <sup>e</sup>
1. News, politics, family reading.....	8,863	11,326	14,867	17,032	17,698	17,574	15,746	206 <sup>f</sup>	300 <sup>f</sup>
2. Religion.....	553	1,025	952	1,287	1,251	1,421	1,162	1,368	1,436
3. Commerce, finance, insurance, railroads, trade.....	363	671	710	991	949	1,196	1,061	1,171	1,227
4. Agriculture, horticulture, dairying stock raising.....	173	263	307	360	316	346	334	243	257
5. General literature, including magazines.....	189	291	239	328	340	284	220		
6. Medicine, surgery.....	114	123	111	192	197	178	185	145 <sup>g</sup>	154 <sup>g</sup>
7. Law.....	45	47	62	81	56	65	59		77
8. Science, mechanics.....	68	83	66	83	139	135	246	109 <sup>m</sup>	176 <sup>m</sup>
9. Fraternal organizations.....	149	216	200	450	419	312	314	126	168
10. Education, history, including college and school periodicals.....	248	256	259	351	473	534	599	212 <sup>x</sup>	330
11. Society, art, music, drama, fashion..	72	152	88	155	164	212	227	130	162
12. Labor.....					w	163	182	172	172
13. Reform and social science.....					v	179	85		
14. Automobiles, motor boats, etc.....								77	103
15. Sports, games, amusements.....								103	122
16. Motion Pictures.....								35	47
17. Miscellaneous.....	477	448	365	538	139	164	69	552	424
Total—all kinds.....	11,314	14,901	18,226	21,848	22,141	22,763	20,489	4,659	5,155

<sup>a</sup> *Twelfth Census of the United States*, (1900), Manufactures, Part III, Table II, p. 1045.

<sup>b</sup> *Thirteenth Census of the United States*, (1910), Manufactures, Vol. X, Tables 36 and 37, pp. 786-87.

<sup>c</sup> *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, (1920), Manufactures, Vol. X, Table 18, p. 580.

<sup>d</sup> United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census. *Census of Manufactures*, 1927, "Printing and Publishing and Allied Industries," Table 22, pp. 27-29.

<sup>e</sup> Do. 1929, Table 21, pp. 19-20.

<sup>f</sup> Includes only college and school periodicals.

<sup>g</sup> Includes dentistry.

<sup>m</sup> Science and technology.

<sup>x</sup> Includes also line five.

<sup>w</sup> Included in "fraternal."

<sup>v</sup> Included in lines 2, 6, 10, and 17.

News summaries and general literature easily heads the list, as might be expected from the scope of the category. That "Religion" should come second might not be quite so expected. Recent increases in

third group, catering to women's interests, ranks above agriculture—a field which once represented our outstanding vocational interest. The marked decrease in circulation of society and fashion maga-

zines and of labor publications might be noted, as well as the increase in circulation of publications dealing with science and technology. The short span of time represented, however, should be kept in mind.

TABLE IV  
CIRCULATION PER THOUSAND PEOPLE IN 1927 AND 1929,  
OF PUBLICATIONS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO  
INTEREST SERVED<sup>1</sup>

INTEREST SERVED	CIRCULATION PER THOUSAND PEOPLE	
	1927	1929
1. News summaries, gen. literature, family, fiction.....	483	518
2. Religion.....	342	343
3. Society, fashion, beauty culture, etc.....	254	186
4. Agriculture, stock raising, etc..	154	167
5. Fraternal organizations.....	74	78
6. Labor.....	72	28
7. Trade.....	70	64
8. Commerce, finance, insurance...	23	26
9. Sports, games, amusement.....	17	19
10. Motion pictures.....	14	19
11. Science and technology.....	11	25
12. Automobiles, motor boats, etc...	11	17
13. Medicine, surgery, dentistry....	8	16
14. Art, music, drama.....	7	11
15. College and school.....	6	8
16. Educational.....		23
17. Law.....		1.4

<sup>1</sup> The data are calculated from data presented in United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *Census of Manufactures, 1927*, "Printing and Publishing and Allied Industries," Table 22, pp. 27-29; and do. 1929, Table 21, pp. 19-20.

The population data used are those indicated for Table I.

#### INTERESTS SERVED BY MOST WIDELY CIRCULATED PUBLICATIONS

A study of the interests served by most widely circulated publications yields further evidence concerning adult reading interest. Such a study can be made from Table V.

The table shows a steady decrease since 1881 in number of persons per copy of the most widely circulated periodical. In 1870 over half of our leading periodicals were news reviews or weekly newspapers. Periodicals fostering the interests of particular groups appeared, but the literature represented by leading periodicals was not dominated by group interests at that time. Much the same situation existed in 1881, although religious publications were gaining in prominence—largely at the expense of literary publications and news reviews. During this decade the number of persons in the United States per copy of the most widely circulated periodical more than doubled. By 1890 religious and agricultural publications clearly dominated the field. With the passing of another decade thirty-five of the leading fifty periodicals fostered these two interests. This domination is even clearer when it is noted that the upper limit of circulation of the fifty leading periodicals was more than twice as high in 1890 as in 1881, and that it practically doubled between 1890 and 1900.

Between 1900 and 1910 there was a distinct change in the character of reading represented by leading periodicals. Women's periodicals which showed a significant upward trend by 1900, continued this trend. By 1910 religion and agriculture had definitely retreated from the interests of foremost ranks among leading periodicals. In fact agriculture had already begun the retreat in 1900. The unmistakable reappearance of literary periodicals and news reviews is also seen by 1910.

In general the period 1910-1930 seems to have been a period of carrying forward developments begun earlier. Women's and agricultural periodicals maintained their 1910 status, religious periodicals

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continued the decline begun sharply between 1900 and 1910, publications of fraternal organizations gained somewhat, and juveniles remained out of the list after

appearance of travel and sport magazines; and of a motion-picture magazine. These periodicals reflect the growth of recent interests in American culture.

TABLE V

CLASSIFICATION OF THE LEADING FIFTY PERIODICALS AT INTERVALS FROM 1870 TO 1930, INDICATING LARGEST AND SMALLEST CIRCULATIONS, NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES PER COPY OF THE MOST WIDELY CIRCULATED PERIODICAL, AND NUMBER OF PERIODICALS FOSTERING DIFFERENT INTERESTS<sup>1</sup>

CIRCULATIONS AND INTERESTS FOSTERED	INTERVALS						
	1870	1881	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Highest circulation (in thousands).....	350	200	442	846	2,036	2,021	2,908
Lowest circulation (in thousands).....	35	33	45	92	300	428	576
Persons per copy of most widely circulated periodical <sup>2</sup> .....	110	251	142	89	45	52	42
Interest fostered:							
Religion.....	6	9	16	23	8	4	1
Agriculture.....	2	4	17	12	6	6	7
Women, family, fashion.....	7	8	6	10	17	18	18
Juvenile.....	5	4	5	1	3		
Literary and news reviews.....	14	8			13	12	10
Weekly newspapers.....	12	15			1	2	1
Fraternal.....				3	2	4	5
Fictional.....							3
Travel and sport.....	1		2				2
Motion pictures.....							1
Mech., tech., voc., trade.....	1	1	2	1	1	3	2
Humor.....		1					
Prohibition.....			2				
Not classified.....	2					1	
Total.....	50 <sup>a</sup>	50 <sup>a</sup>	50 <sup>a</sup>	50	51 <sup>b</sup>	50	50

<sup>1</sup> The data for Tables V-VII are from newspaper annuals. Those for the years 1881-1930 are from the corresponding volumes of Ayer's *Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals*. Those for 1870 are from Geo. P. Rowell and Co., *The American Newspaper Directory*, for 1870.

The term "periodical" as here used does not include daily or Sunday newspapers, publications available for free distribution, or series of several publications when only the total of the series falls within the limits of the leading fifty.

<sup>2</sup> Census data of population are from *Fifteenth Census of the United States*, (1930), Population Bulletin, First Series, Table 3, pp. 4-5.

<sup>a</sup> In 1870 two of the fifty leading periodicals were printed in German, in 1881 and in 1890 one was so printed.

<sup>b</sup> The last three publications included for this year had the same circulation; all three were therefore listed in order to make the proportion in different fields more comparable.

1910. The chief innovations for 1930 are the appearance of fictional periodicals, represented by such publications as *True Story Magazine*, *True Romance*, etc.; the

#### CONTINUITY IN PROMINENCE OF SPECIFIC PERIODICALS

As a further index of change in the character of adult reading interests and

of periodical literature, a study was made of the length of time during which specific periodicals were among the prominent ones. Data indicating the number of decades during which certain publications were among the leading fifty, are presented in Table VI.

inclusive a nucleus of between one-fourth and one-third of the fifty persisted. The last three decades, however, show a distinct change from preceding decades. Twenty-three periodicals listed for 1910 were also listed for at least two other decades. The corresponding figures for

TABLE VI  
NUMBER ACCORDING TO INTEREST FOSTERED, OF PERIODICALS WHICH WERE AMONG THE LEADING FIFTY FOR THREE OR MORE DECADES, AND THE NUMBER FOR TWO DECADES ONLY, WITH THE RESPECTIVE DECADES FOR WHICH SUCH PERIODICALS WERE IN THE LEAD

INTEREST FOSTERED	INTERVALS						
	1870	1881 <sup>a</sup>	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Three or more intervals:							
Religious.....	1	3	4	3	1	1	
Agricultural.....	1	4	5	4	4	4	2
Women's.....	2	3	4	4	9	9	9
Literary.....	1	2			4	5	4
Juvenile.....	1	1	1	1	1		
Fraternal.....				2	1	2	2
Fictional.....					1	1	1
Weekly Newspapers.....					1	1	1
Unclassified.....			1		1	1	1
Two intervals only:							
Religious.....	2	4	6	8	5	2	
Agricultural.....			1	2	1	1	1
Women's.....					3	7	4
Literary.....	1	3			1	4	2
Juvenile.....	1	1	1				
Fraternal.....				1	1	1	1
Mechanical, technical, vocational.....	1	1				2	2
Weekly Newspapers.....	6	6					
Sub-totals—two intervals only.....	11	15	8	11	11	17	10
Sub-totals—three or more intervals.....	6	13	15	14	23	24	20
Grand totals.....	17	28	23	25	34	41	30

<sup>a</sup> This interval was treated as a decade, the same as the other intervals used.

Only six of the leading periodicals in 1870 were among the leading ones for two or more other decades. The corresponding figure for 1881 is thirteen, or roughly one-fourth of the fifty.<sup>2</sup> From 1881 to 1900

<sup>2</sup> If data for periods previous to 1870 had been included, the figure for 1870 would likely have been more nearly that for 1881, because periodicals which had earlier been prominent but which were just

passing off the scene would then have been included. For the opposite reason, what is true of 1870 is also true of 1930.

1920 and 1930 were twenty-four and twenty respectively. This means that a large proportion of the particular periodicals listed for 1910 were also listed for the two subsequent decades, rather than for two or more preceding decades; that

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is, during the three decades of this century rather than during the last decades of the preceding century. This is clearly illustrated in the case of women's periodicals, which as a group more than doubled between 1900 and 1910 in the number listed. Moreover, the nine listed for 1910 were the same periodicals as those listed for 1930, whereas only a few of the nine were the same as were listed earlier. In all but five cases, the decades for which periodicals were among the leading fifty were consecutive decades; that is, when a periodical once appeared in the list it stayed there until crowded out, subsequently to stay out.

The kind of periodical prominent at one time in a particular field of interest is, then, different in character from that prominent at another time. The most distinct breaks appeared between 1881 and 1890, and between 1900 and 1910. The first two decades represent the end of one period in American intellectual life, toward the end of which the circulation of periodical literature remained about on a level. The next two decades represent a period of transition and some confusion, with the appearance of several periodicals the prominence of which was of short duration. Agriculture and religion represented the two most stable fields of interest during this time. Beginning about 1910 new interests became more prominent.

#### PROMINENCE OF PERIODICAL IN RELATION TO DATE OF ESTABLISHMENT

The gradual growth of new intellectual interests can further be traced by a study of the dates of establishment of particular periodicals. Table VII presents the essential data.

As one might expect, in recent decades periodicals have become prominent which were established only a few decades earlier. This fact, however, does not explain why

periodicals established much earlier should almost entirely disappear from the list during recent decades. Of the twenty-three listed as having been prominent in 1890 and at least one other decade, only six are listed for 1870; one agricultural, one juvenile, two religious, and two women's publications. The four literary periodicals in the 1870 list, failed to appear in the 1890 list, as did all weekly newspapers. Over half of the twenty-three periodicals listed for 1890 were established between 1870 and 1890, and five within the period 1881-1890.

Of the thirty-four periodicals among the leading fifty for 1910 and at least one other decade, only three were established before the close of the Civil War: *Youths Companion* (1827), *Saturday Evening Post* (1728), and *Sunday School Advocate* (1841). Of the thirteen women's periodicals listed for 1910, only two appeared for 1890: *Delineator* and *Ladies' Home Journal*. The *Saturday Evening Post* is the only periodical appearing in the list for 1930 which was established before 1870, and it has experienced "re-birth" since its original establishment.

During the period 1871-1890 an especially large number of periodicals, which later became prominent, were established. Over half of the women's periodicals listed for 1910 or for 1930 were established during this period, as were approximately half of the literary periodicals. The period 1871-1890 also witnessed the first establishment of publications of fraternal organizations, of such character as later to gain wide circulation. Hence, as in an earlier connection, the period 1870-1890 appears to be one of change and transition in American periodical literature.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The circulation of literature during the first third of the preceding century was

TABLE VII  
 DATES OF ESTABLISHMENT OF PERIODICALS WHICH RANKED AMONG THE LEADING FIFTY FOR TWO OR MORE  
 DECADES BETWEEN 1870 AND 1930, CLASSIFIED BY ALTERNATE DECADES AND  
 BY CHARACTER OF INTEREST FOSTERED

DECADE AND INTEREST FOSTERED	TOTAL BY DECADE AND INTER- EST	DATE OF ESTABLISHMENT									
		Be- fore 1840	1841- 50	1851- 60	1861- 70	1871- 80	1881- 90	1891- 1900	1901- 10	1911- 20	1921- 30
(A) 1870: Religious.....	2	1		1							
Agricultural.....	1		1								
Literary.....	4	1		1	2						
Juvenile.....	1	1									
Women's.....	2		1		1						
Fraternal.....											
Mech., tech., etc.....	1		1								
Fictional.....											
Weekly newspaper.....	6	3	1	2							
Totals for 1870.....	17	6	4	4	3						
(B) 1890: Religious.....	10	2		1	3	2	2				
Agricultural.....	6		1			4	1				
Literary.....	1						1				
Juvenile.....	2	1				1					
Women's.....	4		1		1	1					
Fraternal.....											
Mech., tech., etc.....											
Fictional.....											
Weekly newspaper.....											
Totals for 1890.....	23	3	2	1	4	8	5				
(C) 1910: Religious.....	5		1			1	3				
Agricultural.....	5					4			1		
Literary.....	6	1					4	1			
Juvenile.....	1	1									
Women's.....	13				3	4	5	1			
Fraternal.....	2					2					
Mech., tech., etc.....	1							1			
Fictional.....											
Weekly newspaper.....	1						1				
Totals for 1910.....	34	2	1			8	14	6	3		
(D) 1930: Religious.....											
Agricultural.....	3					1		1	1		
Literary.....	7	1				1	3	1	1		
Juvenile.....											
Women's.....	13				3	5	2	3		1	
Fraternal.....	3					2					
Mech., tech., etc.....	2					1		1			
Fictional.....	1							1			
Weekly newspaper.....	1						1				
Totals for 1930.....	30	1				5	12	4	7	1	

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small and showed little increase. Between this period and 1880 there was a distinct upward trend in circulation, followed by a much sharper upward trend after 1880. Only minor interruptions in this trend have appeared, and these during periods of economic disturbance.

Distinct changes have appeared from time to time in the interests dominating our periodical literature. In 1870 publications of general literary character predominated. Beginning a decade or two after the close of the Civil War, new influences for social change appeared in American culture and continued their operation into the early part of the present century. Industrialization, the rise of labor organizations, strikes, monopolies, adulterated products, etc., became factors in American life. Women were employed in gainful occupations in increasing numbers. Later on expansion occurred in elementary education, and agitation for reform and extension of secondary education came to be heard. The war with Spain also made its contribution to the general atmosphere of shift, change, and expansion. In an environment of such unsettling forces, it was impossible for periodical literature to remain in status quo. Not only was there a demand for more literature, but also for a different kind. During the last two decades of the century, there was considerable experimentation regarding the type of literature necessary to meet the new demand. While other interests were growing, religion and agriculture, as stable and conservative elements of American society, dominated the field. With increased urbanization and the growth of different vocational interests, however, agricultural interests naturally came to occupy a less prominent place among American periodicals. Religion, too, rapidly lost most of its representation among leading periodicals.

Although the American people, judging from their periodical literature, were rural and religious in the eighties and nineties, it appears that a large portion of the population which was reading agricultural publications at that time is now reading literary periodicals and news reviews, and a large portion which was reading religious publications at that time is now reading women's magazines.

The fact that juvenile publications have disappeared from the list of leading periodicals, may be due in part to a decrease in the number of children per thousand population, but the extension for many children of the period of school attendance beyond the period of juvenile interest, and the meeting of such interests through various school activities, is no doubt a factor.

With the second quarter of the present century, evidence is appearing of types of literature not prominent during the first quarter of the century; magazines of fiction, travel, sport, and motion pictures. These publications reflect a change in abundance as well as in the use made of the wealth and leisure afforded by present society, as contrasted with that of earlier times.

There are two direct educational implications of the foregoing study. One relates to the increasing use of current literature as material for instruction in public schools. It is quite commonly accepted that the particular interests of a publisher, economic or otherwise, influence the color of material which appears in his publications. If it were not expected that this coloring would influence the reader, there would be no object in the coloring. The extent to which a child will be influenced by such coloring is in many instances greater than the extent to which an adult would be influenced. If the child is to arrive at sane judgments

regarding current topics of public importance, the school has the task of supplying him with a comprehensive basis of civic training in regard to the purpose and development of those social functions and institutions which are frequent topics of comment in current literature; government, schools, police force, public health, public utilities, transportation, etc. This means that while the increasing abundance of periodical literature makes available more current material on specific civic functions, it also places a heavier obligation on the schools to train maturing children for evaluating the material.

The second implication grows out of the same difficulty, evaluating material, but pertains to the adult level. When periodical literature increases at the rate that it has in this country since 1880, authors of articles, reviews, and news stories are increasingly interested in rendering a service that will sell, and commonly one

that will sell to publications which carry advertising. In treating controversial issues, the author is therefore not likely to be guided entirely by a desire to present an unbiased analysis, but partly by the desire to present such an "analysis" as is approved by publishers and advertisers, and such as seems to readers to be within broad limits of plausibility. Hence the adult reader is often puzzled by attacks of organized interests, and lacks the basic civic understanding necessary for interpreting what he reads. Some aid to adult readers may be expected through organized adult education, but in the long run most of it will probably have to come through the schools—before adulthood is reached. In societies in which decision on matters of general public concern is not supposed to rest with the average citizen, there need not be as much direct concern over matters of this kind, as in a country which attempts to operate on democratic principles.

#### SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

##### SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

The second annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society will be held at the Tutwiler Hotel, Birmingham, Alabama, April 2 and 3, 1937, with President Wilson Gee, University of Virginia, presiding. The following sectional meetings will be held: Social Welfare and Public Policy, Comer M. Woodward, Emory University, Chairman; Communication and Social Changes, E. T. Krueger, Vanderbilt University, Chairman; Social Research, B. O. Williams, Clemson College, Chairman; The Teaching of Sociology, Harold D. Meyer, University of North Carolina, Chairman; Rural Sociology, T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State University, Chairman; The Family, W. E. Cole, University of Tennessee, Chairman.

The annual dinner is devoted to the progress of sociology in the South with talks by Wilson Gee, L. L. Bernard, F. W. Hoffer, and Howard W. Odum. Investigating Committees are to report to the Society the results of a year's study on the following topics: Relation of Sociology to Social Work, Status of Sociology in the South, Sociological Research in Southern Colleges, and the Teaching of Sociology in Secondary Schools.

The Committee on Local Arrangements is headed by E. W. Gregory, Jr., University of Alabama.

RUPERT B. VANCE, *Secretary-Treasurer,*  
*Southern Sociological Society.*

## PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SOCIAL WORKER IN THE CHANGING SOCIAL ORDER\*

MAURICE TAYLOR

*The Federation of the Jewish Philanthropies of Pittsburgh*

IN A short paper on such a subject as this, one can but briefly sketch the changing forces of the times and the part that the social worker may be expected to play. I think it is reasonable to assume without taking the time to mention details that conditions have changed for the better since the beginning of the century and that social workers have played a part in the process. However, events of the past few years have radically altered the tempo and direction

of our economic and social life. In many aspects of his work the social worker has been forced to change his views and procedures, frequently not without considerable effort. In large measure, he has been faced with the responsibility of steering the emergency public relief effort through an uncharted course.

The social worker has never been a complacent individual. By temperament, stimulated by the demands of his milieu, he has ever been dynamic in the direction of a better social order, however lethargic he may have appeared to be in contrast with the pressure of circumstances calling for action. On the other hand, he cannot always have been said to have been on the side of progress. During the earlier days of the century when life was much more placid, he sometimes failed to grasp the significance of the movement toward enlarged public responsibility. Now, however, he is patently a different person with a much more acute awareness of problems although not perhaps as well schooled in their theoretical background as he might be. The swiftly moving social tide demands that he become the student while at the same time bringing to bear his experience in the wrestling with practical affairs, an experience, the

\* This paper on "The Responsibility of the Social Worker in the Changing Social Order" by Maurice Taylor, presented at the April, 1936 meeting of the Eastern Sociological Conference and the one following, "Case Work and Social Work—The Function of Social Service" by Marshall E. St. Edward Jones, although written and submitted independently to *Social Forces*, may well be considered together since both discuss, from different but correlated points of view, the place of social work and the social worker in the present changing social order. The first article deals more particularly with the social worker's responsibility in "the social security program, the field of public welfare administration, private philanthropy, and the relation between public and private" agencies; while the second discusses changing approaches to social work, from the more specific over-emphasis, a decade ago, on case work and the case worker to the present trend of a possible over-emphasis on "analyzing social forces and guiding them" as the chief responsibility of the social worker.—*Editors*.

value of which should place him in the front rank of those who will be called upon to deal with the social problems growing out of the depression.

How may he be expected to help in focusing attention on the factors contributing to the disorganization of the social order? Insofar as the social cycle is not dependent on the business cycle, he has the responsibility for stimulating a steady upward trend in orderly social planning and action through an effective translation of his knowledge gained through daily contact with what are in effect disaster conditions. We must help to modify that characteristic of society which, until it has met with disaster, gives little attention to any thorough-going reform. Even then, since the collective memory of man is shorter than his individual memory, very little is likely to be done unless we strike and continue to strike in order to keep the iron from growing cold. We must beware of the danger that, in our haste to repair the damage while the crisis is still upon us, we do not indulge in half-baked thinking and kaleidoscopic changing of remedial measures, befuddling ourselves with pseudo-cures which may block sound, well considered solutions. The New Deal in many respects is thus defective.

Whether we are at the beginning of a new social order or are merely modifying the old, the fact may now be conceded that we are on a higher plateau of social action. The depression has cut deeply enough to lower our threshold of acceptance of the need for social change. How great and how lasting that will be depends on how vigorously we can keep up the stirring of the social conscience. In this process the social worker has an obvious and paramount responsibility. He can do this both by contributing leadership from among his own group

and by supporting the leadership of others.

Too frequently in the past he has accepted the status of society's shock absorber. He has received the blow without always vigorously passing it on to where it rightfully belongs, to the group that has supported him and his works. While I have immediate reference to the private social worker, the same can be said of those in the public field. The opportunity is at hand to assume the more active rôle of transmitting the facts because we can be sure of a more sympathetic reception. The social worker must become the ever present irritant to social action.

However, to capitalize fully the position he has achieved during the depression, he must widen the scope of his alliances, particularly in the political field, because the major hope for substantial change lies in the area of governmental action rather than in that of voluntary private effort. In the present emergency he has suffered because in the past he has not been articulate enough. Because he has tended to avoid politics, his possible function as spokesman for those whose problems he knows best has been appropriated by the politician and the demagogue who have seized upon the difficulties of their constituents many times to their own selfish ends. Where legislation is necessary to accomplish certain results, the social worker cannot afford to ignore the men, the methods, and the machinery necessary to bring it about. Nor can he afford, as he has so often done in the past, to let others speak for him. We gain, rather than lose, prestige by fighting in the open for the things we believe to be necessary. It is only because we have been content to be silent that, when we were impelled to speak, when we were unwilling to permit our facts and wishes to be interpreted



by others, we were not accorded the hearing to which we were entitled. We occupy the vantage ground of impartiality which we must capitalize if we are going to be a factor in the social gains of the future.

An important and immediate responsibility of the social worker arises out of the fact that the new social order will be marked by an ever-increasing scale of public social services, for the proper understanding and development of which the intelligent coöperation between public and private agencies will be necessary. We have already entered into a wider scope of such services comparable to those found in other parts of the world and which include not only social assistance but social insurance as well. We have broken with the past in our change from a *laissez faire* attitude toward our responsibility to those who are or cannot be self-maintaining. The revolution in our social thinking during the past three years constitutes perhaps the major difference between the old order and the new. It took the depression to bring this about, although with our characteristic self-assurance we have chosen to ignore the experience of other countries. Trial and error seems to be our national motto.

There is a four-fold area in which the social worker will have a paramount rôle to play: (1) the social security program; (2) the field of public welfare administration (national, state, and local); (3) private philanthropy; and (4) the relation between public and private. Despite the shortcomings of certain social workers in key positions in this emergency, on the whole, as a group, we have gained stature in the public eye as a result of our contribution. Private social work has proved its value as a training ground for leaders in public service. A much better appreciation of its place in the scheme of things

has resulted, despite its miniature position in comparison with the gigantic rôle of government in the field.

Nevertheless, the social worker must beware of following too blindly certain lay leaders who advance the cause of private philanthropy as opposed to governmental programs of welfare merely as a cloak for opposing the expansion of governmental activity generally and for cutting down public expenditures. The areas of public and private social work are not yet clearly delimited, nor is it certain that they can or need be. The latter, however, is confronted with the serious task of clearer interpretation of its scope and function because of questioning arising out of the larger rôle of tax-supported agencies and the growing fiscal burden that they will inevitably entail. The clearest division of function between public and private is that which assigns to the former the responsibility of an adequate minimum of subsistence and leaves to the latter some (only some) of the more positive forms of social experimentation and practice.

Much of what has gone into the social security act is based both on superficial thinking and political considerations, largely disregarding the findings of social workers. However greater may become their responsibility in the public service because of their participation in the administration of the act, that of the private social worker will not be very much lessened thereby. Assuming the act remains substantially in its present form, which we hope will not be the case, only a part of the burden now being assumed by private social work will be lightened. Both the unemployment insurance and the old age provisions are essentially permissive in character. The tax-offset scheme of the former constitutes no guarantee that all states will adopt measures thus leaving

employees in many jurisdictions without any protection. Permitting individual states to write their own acts will not remove the competitive element so frequently stressed against the passage of labor legislation. Too large a share of the working class is left out under present provisions, benefits are inadequate, those presently unemployed are not covered, unemployment due to labor trouble is not compensable—all of which will leave the majority of those now dependent no better off. There is also the added danger of an increase in unemployment due to the payroll tax displacing marginal industries. In short, the whole measure is poorly conceived and needs to be changed.

Social workers, particularly in the private field, have the responsibility of helping to assure this change, to the end that the problem may be dealt with on a national and a rational basis. The theory of states' rights is an anachronism and only serves to block effective social reform. The social worker by training is not dominated by narrow political considerations and may therefore be expected to contribute leadership in overcoming the outworn political philosophy which stultifies an effective and natural relationship which modern conditions make necessary between federal, state, and local units. The whole program is full of implications and possibilities that lie definitely within the professional duty of the social worker.

Perfecting the social security act, however, partakes somewhat of locking the barn door after the horse is stolen. The social worker can make a vital contribution in keeping attention focused on the basic problem of preventing unemployment. The depression has dramatized the need, but as yet no real result has been achieved, either in that direction or in that of reemployment. Unemployment compensation is too roundabout a process

for that purpose and not likely of much result, to say nothing of its possibilities in the reverse direction on account of the payroll tax. More and better relief appropriations constitute but a necessary makeshift. The social worker must align himself with other progressive forces seeking to secure for those able to work the realization of the ideal of man's right to a job at wages which will assure him and his family of a decent standard of living, at hours which will give him sufficient leisure, and under conditions that will not expose him unduly to fatigue, accident, or disease. Such an adequate wage, in conjunction with the contributions of industry and government, will enable the wage earner to purchase an adequate old age annuity.

The social worker is definitely obligated to help remedy the serious omission of health insurance. He must lend his efforts to offset the destructive propaganda of a selfish and politically-minded minority among the medical profession which views the problem fundamentally from the point of view of its effect on their own economic interests. The social worker must courageously advance the cause of the patient whose interests are paramount, and in its discussion he must insist on a consideration of the total costs of illness, economic as well as physical.

Even after the various social insurances have been provided for, there will continue to exist the necessary evil of public social assistance. In the domain of public welfare administration we must strive for adequate standards of relief and service, trained personnel properly protected, and a modern integrated system of federal, state and local departments. A new social psychology must be built up toward the vast numbers who seem likely to remain dependent on the public bounty through no fault of their own. The moralistic and

punitive attitude which persists in spite of facts made plain by the depression, and which expresses itself in sub-minimum standards of relief, constitutes the beginning of a vicious circle which will serve to maintain and increase the number who will need to be supported. This will be complicated later by the growth in number of those who will be receiving income as a matter of right by way of unemployment and superannuation benefits. It is reasonable to expect that this in turn will have an effect on the attitude of those whose grant is dependent on the establishment of need, all of which combined may raise new problems of the place of relief in our national economy.

We can look forward to little diminution of the present load of dependency unless some radical change occurs in the functioning of our economic system. Upon its proper solution hangs in large measure the well-being of American society, and herein lies the crux both of the social worker's responsibility and opportunity. His special contribution will come in its treatment. Although the determination of its cause and cure will very likely rest in other hands, the social worker must equip himself to assist in dealing with the broader issues if he is to retain his prestige in his own particular field. This points to the need of the broadest kind of training of those who expect to enter the profession.

The increasing use of legislation in connection with the growth of public welfare facilities inevitably involves the threat of politics. The influence of the politician cannot be eliminated but it can and must be controlled. Success in this direction will be the more assured if social workers will bend every effort in insisting that only the highest grade of personnel be engaged and given adequate civil service protection. There is but little incentive for

experienced persons to give up their posts in private social work under such conditions as now exist in the emergency relief set-ups, whether in local, state, or federal administrations.

There is an obvious need of reframing the entire code of public welfare administration in this country. First of all we need a federal department of public welfare. No ostrich-like policy can wink away the fact that the federal government is in the relief picture to stay. It is gratuitous to expect that the states are going to be capable of dealing with it alone. Not only is the problem too big for the individual state, but in many of its phases it is interstate in character. Supplying the necessary monies demands a fiscal agency powerful enough to command the funds such as the federal government alone represents. The chief hope for acceptable state administration is through a system of grants-in-aid administered by a federal department.

There was probably not a single instance of a state welfare code even remotely equipped to deal with the problems of the depression. Under its stress, such as were in existence broke down. After all, we cannot expect a model designed for conditions in England in 1601 to meet the requirements of the United States in 1936. Local units by themselves are for the most part not equipped to deal with the enlarged problem. They need the stimulus and guidance of a broad central administration with sufficient authority to compel the adoption of proper standards. The cry of home rule cannot be permitted to stand in the way of progress. These reforms are not going to be accomplished without a radical change in public thinking which can develop only after an intensive and continuous campaign of public education. The hurdle of vested local political interests must be overcome.

No one is in better position to lead this fight than the social worker because no one else possesses an equal knowledge of the facts. Such matters as settlement laws, poor standards of relief and administration, and local control by picayune politicians have no place in the changing social order. Their abolition constitutes one of social work's major objectives.

Social work leadership will rest largely with the private practitioner. Compared with those in the public service, he will have greater freedom of opinion and action. The increasing acceptance by public authority of responsibility for safeguarding the minimums of health and decency will leave the private social worker free to perform his real function of social planning and engineering. Certainly one of the world's greatest needs is a brand of social engineering capable of matching scientific advances in other fields and turning them to suitable human use. Our failure to do this up to now explains many of our social ills.

The relation of private to public social work will lie not so much by way of its supplementation as in its implementation. Not only must we get the necessary laws passed but we must see to it that they work, that they are properly administered by the right people and for the benefit of those whom they have been designed to serve. As much as it may be desirable, it is too much to expect that the spoils system will ever be entirely removed. The control of public welfare, particularly of relief, has powerful possibilities for harm as for good. Private social work in the days to come when we shall see such a rapid spread of the public welfare system will have the supreme responsibility of guarding against the use of such power for political ends and all that that implies.

The private social worker stands in the strategic position of intermediary for

many important purposes between various antithetical and analogical divisions of society, between the "haves" and the "have-nots," between the native and the alien, between employer and employee, between court and delinquent, between doctor and patient, between parent and child, between school and home, etc. In this relationship he combines the function of the educator, the interpreter, and the advocate. Growth in understanding between all such groups must have a direct and beneficial effect on the development of an improved social order.

The private social worker's responsibility does not end with the consideration of those with whose problems he becomes primarily concerned. Private social work deals only with between two and five per cent of those in need of relief. The private social worker, therefore, would be abdicating his responsibility were he satisfied only to do the best possible job for this small segment, while neglecting the interests of the other ninety-five to ninety-eight per cent. He must champion their cause to the end that they may secure adequate relief and service, if needed, or else face the certainty of his own standards being dragged down to the level of the public agency. He can only justify his administrative and experimental function provided he uses the knowledge thus gained to raise the level of well being of the great numbers he cannot serve directly. The future of society cannot be a healthy one if one of its component parts is to consist of a large group of underfed and demoralized citizenry, cared for at public expense and at the lowest cost possible. This assumes, of course, that the social worker is doing all in his power to eliminate the necessity for such a group altogether.

The social worker has a peculiar responsibility over and above that of the



average citizen or of other specialists in the sphere of our discussion because of his function in dealing solely with the human factor. His duty lies in focusing attention upon it as the immediate as well as the ultimate end because of the danger that threatens when human values are disregarded. His commission is the promotion of better opportunities for improved living through the engendering of positive programs of public welfare while at the same time striving to prevent and suppress negative and destructive elements which degrade man and prevent him from achieving the fullest measure of life under current conditions. At the same time he cannot assume the rôle of the perfectionist; unless he is a realist his idealism may be self-defeating. He cannot for a moment forget the forces with which he must work

and contend. In seeking to fill in gaps he will have to inveigh action, political, economic, and social, on the part of others. He has the function of a catalytic agent facilitating the fusing of the various elements in society to which he can bring the facts of life as he finds them in his daily work. His task for the future is epitomized in the words of Hobhouse who states: "the social end which investigation shows to be coherent and within the physical compass of human power will be attained as a result of the efforts of even a single man who realizes them distinctly enough, and is able so to communicate his enthusiasm to his fellows as to secure organized action in the direction he desires. It is not will that is powerless but the individual will, unless it can enter into organized cooperation with others."

## CASE WORK AND SOCIAL WORK

### THE FUNCTION OF SOCIAL SERVICE

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THE question of the place that case work should occupy in social work is the subject of some discussion at the present time. It is natural that subjects such as this should come to the fore at a time when the rôle of social work and the activities of social workers are of interest not only to the limited professional group of social workers, but to the larger group of persons outside of professional social work who are interested in current social problems. It is important that serious consideration be given to the social changes which have taken place since 1929 and to the presumed changes in social work which the new situation calls for. This raises the question which every social organization has to face sooner or later—namely, the ques-

tion of adaptability to changing conditions versus stability of organization. It is commonly recognized that an intensely stable, non-flexible, unchanging organization is doomed to relative shortness of life since it cannot adapt. But it is equally true—though not so generally recognized—that an organization which is too flexible, too responsive to changes in environment, is in as bad a situation as the rigid, non-flexible organization, since it entirely lacks stability. It is with this latter point especially in mind that the following discussion of case work and social work is undertaken.

#### I

Case work has, in the recent past, occupied a very prominent position indeed

in the social worker's scheme of things. There are not lacking writers who refer to such position as the "overemphasis" on case work of which social work has been "guilty."<sup>1</sup> Those of us who can look back to training in social work about ten years ago are perhaps inclined to agree with the allegation that social work has overemphasized case work. As we became familiar with a social organization, we discovered that it consisted mostly of "case workers" in various stages of development. The successful case worker was looked on with a respect not accorded to the ordinary. New members of the organization were trained in nothing but case work, with occasional references to financial matters and filing systems. Training consisted in learning the details of a method from a very restricted viewpoint. There was no broadness of outlook onto the field of social service in general. There was, for instance, no attempt to see the organization in its general milieu. True, it was seen as one of several social service organizations with its own specialized function and field of service. But few of us were taught anything like a philosophy of social welfare, or even a philosophy of social service. It is doubtful if considerations of such a nature ever occurred to the supervisors of the organization who taught us ten years ago.

A philosophy of social welfare is a different thing from a method of case work, or from the *raison d'être* of a particular social service organization. The reason for the existence of the particular organization was the existence of a problem to be met and a method of meeting it. That is exactly what the apprentices were taught. There was no insight into

societal life—no orienting of social service as one of the aspects of the larger societal structure. The *how* of social service technique was thoroughly studied—the *why* social service was necessary was neglected, save for vague references to "service" in general.

Now such emphasis on case work can be traced to several factors. In the first place, it had the appeal of the definite, something which was vouched for and could be accepted and learned with little need for rationalization. In the second place, it was a natural reaction from the pre-charity-organization days. The philanthropy of the heart, entirely devoid of the philanthropy of the brain, had led, in those days, to indiscriminate private giving, overlapping of gifts, the tendency to pauperization of the unfortunate, and all the other results with which social workers who have read even a little at the history of social work are familiar. The struggle to rationalize philanthropy, through charity organization, was the struggle of a few gifted souls, often attended by undeserved criticism, misrepresentation, opposition from the philanthropists of the heart only, and discouragement after discouragement. Once these pioneers had made ground in overcoming opposition to their efforts, once they had demonstrated the essential soundness of their position and the success which attended their methods, they gained a following which grew and became more enthusiastic as the years went by. In the fulness of their enthusiasm, such followers laid more and more emphasis on case work as the principal element of the "new method of philanthropy." They could present it as a thoroughly sound method of meeting the social problems of the day. It was "scientific" in the best contemporary sense of that word. It was "business-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the January 1936 issue of the *Journal of Educational Sociology* (Vol. 9, No. 5) which is devoted to the general topic "Education and Social Work."

like" and therefore appealed to the larger contributors to charity. It was a community function, the community helping the unfortunate through an individual case worker who "knew how to do it," and therefore appealed to the community generally. Naturally, all these references were made the more pointed by comparison with the preorganization days of indiscriminate philanthropy. And there is no doubt that it was a better method than that of indiscriminate philanthropy. Hence the reaction to the latter helped to establish case work the more definitely.

Thirdly, we may note that case work gained a great ascendancy from the fact that it was in accord with the prevailing popular philosophy, especially the philosophy of the seven or eight years before 1929. Business was good, prosperity was at hand—in spite of minor depressions—and the prosperity was to continue. The war to end all wars had been fought and won. The social order of the day was a marvel, with (almost) everyone getting rich. Those relatively few who were not getting rich, particularly those who were in poverty and needed the help of social agencies, were obviously "maladjusted." The thing to do with them was to turn them over to a good case worker who would "adjust" them to the (almost perfect) social order. The case worker thus became a liaison agent between the person in difficulties and the limitless resources of the community. There was no individual—it seemed to the enthusiastic social worker—for whom something could not be done. A way could surely be found to fit him into the scheme of things. And the person to do this was the case worker. Naturally he, and his special type of knowledge, came to be regarded as of prime importance.

This responsiveness to the popular philosophy of the times was natural enough.

It is not, in itself, a cause for criticism—it demonstrates a desirable flexibility in the organization. We can now see that perhaps there was too much flexibility, too much response to the popular philosophy, an overemphasis on case work, on the individual approach. Perhaps there was even a smugness about the whole thing. But all this is sober second thought, after we are free from the enthusiasms of 1926.

## II

In the midst of all this enthusiasm and overemphasis came the depression of 1929, with its effects increasingly felt during the succeeding years. Superficial prosperity disappeared, and with it the theoretical foundations of case work as a method of adjusting the individual to the social order. More and more the social order appeared to be anything but an order—it tended to become more and more a chaos. This has several direct results on case work:

1. The increase in case load which resulted as the years went on prevented the intense type of case work so much in favor in 1926. There were not workers enough; nor was there money enough to hire more workers. That meant that social service organizations had to do their jobs without case work, or, at any rate, without thorough-going case work of the kind they had been used to.

2. In addition, governmental agencies of one kind and another entered the field of direct and indirect relief. These governmental agencies were under the control of legislators and practical politicians who had little knowledge of social work, and little sympathy with specialized case work. In addition, the politicians (and the word is used in its best sense as meaning simply one who is interested and active in politics) were concerned with

quick relief, relief which would appeal to the voters of all classes. They had, therefore, no patience with long-drawn-out investigations—quite aside from the fact that pressure of need made such investigations impossible. Again, a relatively new situation came into being—the situation in which those who received the relief had some voice in the actual control of the relief organizations through the power of their vote. They were not at all interested in giving case histories of themselves, nor had they any intention of accepting from the case worker any great amount of planning which went contrary to their own desires. Under such circumstances, the thorough-going case work of 1926 disappeared.

In other words, as the matter now stands, particularly with reference to governmental agencies, those who are either not interested in, or are actively opposed to, the type of case work which was the very backbone of social service a decade ago are now exerting considerable influence on social work. As a result, case work and the case worker have lost prestige.

3. But it is not alone such forces as these from outside the field of social service that have contributed to the lessening prestige of case work. Social workers themselves have become dissatisfied with attempts to adjust individuals to a social order which they no longer view as perfect, or as remotely approaching perfection.<sup>2</sup> They have been compelled by the

<sup>2</sup> "The case worker in the face of unemployment is overwhelmed with a sense of the futility of attempting to maintain morale in families where only employment is needed to return them to normal living. Even under so-called normal times, we cannot indefinitely 'adjust' people to conditions that should not exist. The situation becomes intolerable and our efforts unworthy unless we . . . help remove the conditions." Arlien Johnson, "Professional Education for Social Work in the New Order," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 9, No. 5, January 1936, p. 263.

stringency of events to turn their thoughts from case work as a well-articulated social method to an attempt to develop a thorough-going philosophy of social welfare. They are wondering—and philosophy is supposed to start with wonder—if the individual approach is, after all, the right approach. They are also wondering, in view of the unemployment situation and the other results of the depression, whether efforts at "adjustment" had better not be concentrated on the social order itself instead of on individuals who are out of step with the social order. Some of them are wondering if case work is possible at all, since the resources of the community, through which, in the 1926 type of social work, the individual was to be adjusted, have in many cases entirely failed. And some of them are wondering if what they have been trying to do was really worth doing—they are wondering whether or not case work as practised was not on the whole an injustice to the client.

### III

Such an attitude is easily understandable, particularly as the social workers are by no means alone in wondering whether the social order does not need considerable overhauling. They are supported in such an attitude by government officials, educators, many churchmen, in other words by individuals from what were the conservative classes ten years ago. The feeling that something is wrong with the social order is coming to be as popular a philosophy as was the philosophy of continuing prosperity a decade ago. One is inclined to wonder whether social workers will be as *over-responsive* to this popular philosophy as they were to the philosophy of lasting and ordered prosperity. The writer believes that there are certain signs that such may be the case. The pendulum is swinging rather rapidly



from the emphasis on the individual approach to the emphasis on the collective approach. Thus a prominent educator in the field of social service says:

Every particle of method that the social work of the last two or three generations has forged for our use will be needed. In addition, all signs point to the need for a more broadly educational program. In a project so vast that the budgets of nations are shifted to carry the burden, administrators must be social interpreters of their generation; capable of understanding the why of the conditions they are handling as well as of guiding the direction of social progress. . . . No other assumes the responsibility for analyzing social forces or for guiding them. Social engineer is sometimes used, but no word quite explains it.<sup>3</sup>

This places quite a burden on the shoulders of the social worker. But we can see the transition, a transition once again embodying a response to a popular philosophy. From an overemphasis on case work to an overemphasis on "analyzing social forces and guiding them" may well be the trend in social service. If so, it will be extremely unfortunate for social service.

No one questions the fact that we are going through a period of change. It does seem, however, that some writers are inclined to overlook the fact that social change will not stop in the next five years or so, and solidify into the "New Social Order." The real problem is the attitude we are to take towards social change. It is a mistake to regard the phase of social change through which we are passing as the ultimate in social organization. It is equally a mistake to call social change "social progress." Finally, the worst mistake of all is to talk of social change thoughtlessly and heedlessly. The writer submits that the quotation above given is an example of such thoughtlessness and heedlessness. How much sound sense is there behind the phrases "social

interpreters," "guiding the direction of social progress," "analyzing social forces and guiding them?" They are set forth as the function of the social worker. Are they, as a matter of fact, valid functions for social service? Many sociologists—as distinct from social workers—state bluntly that those things are impossible. Professor Pitirim A. Sorokin of Harvard says:<sup>4</sup>

To sum up: Since socio-cultural life changes incessantly, planning is unavoidable as an adaptive reaction to these changing conditions. In this sense it took place in the past, goes on at present, and will continue in the future. But from this unavoidable necessity it does not follow that any such scheming will be successful or that with the passage of time the percentage of successful planning (i.e., where the expected and actual results coincide) will increase, or that it has become so much more "scientific" that we have a right to boast of our ability to forecast and control socio-cultural phenomena. At the present all such schemes remain as much guesswork and gambling as they were in the past. Only in recklessness, perhaps, does our present planning abound.

Professor H. P. Fairchild, of New York University, in criticizing Professor Sorokin's paper spoke<sup>5</sup> in favor of planning, but admitted that "social planning" only was possible, while "societal planning" was hardly possible. In social planning, according to Professor Fairchild, we are dealing with "localized groups or limited special interests," while in societal planning we deal with "the whole structure and functioning of the community itself."

To achieve results on this scale necessitates the purposeful direction and control of many, if not most, of the major social impulses and drives. To expect even approximate perfection would of course be absurd.<sup>6</sup>

Remember that Professor Fairchild is by no means opposed to social planning—

<sup>4</sup> "Is Accurate Social Planning Possible?", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, February 1936, pp. 12-25.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25-28.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Frank J. Bruno, "Newer Trends in Education for Family Social Work," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, January 1936, Vol. 9, No. 5, p. 280.

he advocates it, but recognizes its limitations.

Professor Frank H. Hankins of Smith College is widely known for his racial and population studies, in the course of which he has suggested purposive action to prevent dysgenic reproduction and better the population quality of the country—a form of social planning, or “directing social progress.” Yet Professor Hankins says:

Then there is a third kind of knowledge, which in practice cannot be separated from the arts of political manipulation and some philosophy of social welfare. This is the knowledge of how to put into operation the conclusions of scientific research through the agencies of social control. An all-wise and benevolent dictatorship could accomplish this miracle, but whether it can be done through democratic institutions is extremely doubtful. In any case, we need have no illusions as to the possibility of complete social control—the conscious social teleosis of the late Lester F. Ward; that seems definitely ruled out.<sup>7</sup>

These remarks are the considered judgments of sociologists whose business it is to know about social processes, social change, social control, and social planning. The remarks were made at the meeting of the American Sociological Society at which were assembled the leading sociologists of America. The speakers were neither assaulted nor howled down, which indicates at least that their remarks were not too heretical to most of the sociologists. If they are correct, that social service which assumes responsibility for “analyzing social forces or for guiding them,” the responsibility for “guiding the direction of social progress” is, firstly, attempting something which cannot be done; and, secondly, laying itself open to destructive criticism and perhaps complete annihilation when its failure becomes apparent.

<sup>7</sup> *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, February 1936, pp. 34-35.

#### IV

It is the writer's opinion that social service must demonstrate that it has flexibility enough to adjust to changing conditions when such adjustment means more social *service*; and yet must have stability enough to resist the swings of the pendulum of popular opinion from one extreme to the other. Grant that there has been an overemphasis on case work. The proper remedy is not at once to over-emphasize something else, but to see case work, the individual approach, in its proper perspective as a lasting and valuable method of trying to solve social problems. The social order is made up of individuals, and we can, as a matter of fact, change, or “reform” or “better” *certain aspects* of the social order through the individual approach, that is, by changing, bettering, or reforming individuals. As to the other aspects of the social order, we must approach them not as prophets using grandiose phrases (an error into which some of the “greatest” economists fell with reference to the prosperity of 1926); and not with a megalomaniac delusion that social workers are called to be the unique saviors of this generation; but as social scientists who are trying to find out first of all what the facts—all the facts—are with reference to poverty, dependency, and the other social situations which come within the purview of social service. Such facts will, of course, include the causes of those situations, as nearly as we can determine them. Those causes, in turn, will doubtless include some inherent in the general social organization, but they will as surely include also some which are inherent in the individuals in those particular situations. The point is that, if we approach our problem dominated exclusively by the present popular philosophy that “revision of the social order” is a simple, easy, and only solution of

social problems, we will be wholly unable to see facts objectively and as they are. We will inevitably "select" facts, fit them in with our philosophy, and fail utterly to understand what we are doing and why we are doing it.

We are apt to be misled by the use of words here. After all, such very valuable and apropos projects as the Social Security Legislation, unemployment insurance, Federal aid in children's work, even the TVA project, are not "revisions of the social order" nor attempts at "guiding social progress." All are simply new *methods* of meeting the social situations involved in dependent old age, dependent childhood, unemployment, and cultural retardation. All of them are being put into practice as the result of careful, factual study of their possibilities. All of them are, perhaps, examples of the "social planning" which Professor Fairchild distinguished from "societal planning." Study of these new *methods*, acceptance of them if they appear to function adequately and better than older methods, is part of the function of social service, and an indication of the flexibility of social service organizations. But let there be no delusions on the matter—these are new *methods* of meeting old problems; they are definite and concrete. They are far different from utopian "plans" for "guiding social progress" which assume the possibility of complete social control and social adjustment to such an extent that the problems themselves will disappear.

We are faced with the fact that case work, the method which attained such

prominence in social service in past years, is not a cure-all. We realize now its limitations as perhaps we did not realize them ten years ago. We must realize also that no method or plan will be a cure-all. Radical economic and political theories to the contrary, we are not called on to drop case work and take steps to bring about a social revolution. We are called on, rather, to act as a stabilizing force in the face of utopianism, shallow thinking, misguided enthusiasm, sloppy sentimentalism. We shall be such a stabilizing force not by clinging rigidly, inflexibly, and unthinkingly to any methods, old or new, but by an insistence on a scientific understanding of what the problems are with which we are dealing; and on a scientific demonstration of the effectiveness of proposed new methods of dealing with them. We must recognize the fact that social change exists; but we must bear in mind that change is continuous—there will be changes in the future as there have been in the past and as there are at present. Understanding of present changes demands an understanding of what has gone before; plans for the present demand recognition of the fact of future change.

Now it is very possible that our insistence on a scientific approach, on avoidance of emotionalism, our questioning of plans enthusiastically but unthinkingly advocated, will not bring us popularity. For we shall be opposing the popular philosophy instead of falling in with it. But in the perspective of history such opposition may well be counted as the greatest evidence of our worth.

#### FAMILY SOCIAL WORK

One of the outstanding articles, which will appear in the *Social Work Yearbook 1937*, is that on Family Social Work by Miss Betsy Libbey of the Family Society of Philadelphia. In view of present reorganizations and functional realignments, this subject is of particular timeliness and value, especially when presented by such an authority as Miss Libbey. Following an introductory statement, the author discusses her subject under the captions: the structure of family social work; family social case work; family social work today; Family Welfare Association of America; personnel and training. Particularly well chosen are the "References to Literature." The *Social Work Yearbook 1937* is to be released by the Russell Sage Foundation about March 15.

## THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### PROBLEMS OF REINTEGRATION OF AGRARIAN LIFE\*

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#### I

WHAT is the importance of a healthy vigorous rural life to the welfare of the nation? What are the implications of the present agricultural situation—social and economic—to national planning and policy?

A preliminary consideration seems to lead to the adoption of the hypothesis:

1. That American culture is in a state of imbalance in that urban-industrial culture elements outweigh the agrarian and seriously weaken or may eventually destroy fundamental and essential portions of any well rounded and integrated foundation of our national life.

2. This hypothesis is based on the observations that America is approximately half rural in population, and that her political structure and material well-being have in the past sprung from, and must in the future spring largely from exploitation of natural resources through agriculture. Further, much of the population of our cities, accepting the Census Bureau distinction between "urban" and "rural,"

is imbued with rural ideas and patterns of life, being one generation or less away from an agricultural life in most cases.

3. More fundamentally, we must subscribe, at least in part, to the theory of O. M. Roberts that "Civilization begins and ends with the plow."

4. The correction of this imbalance becomes more essential as it becomes apparent that exploitation through "mining" operations, either in agriculture or in other natural resources, is as much a part of the past as is the frontier.

5. The processes of social change are irreversible. Any solution of our national dilemma must be based on conditions as they actually are and as it is believed they will be rather than on a nostalgia for a romantic past, which never existed in reality but is often used as an escape from too brutal facts. A plan for reintegration of agrarian life, therefore, must be clearly distinguished from an agrarian movement, romantic in quality and impractical in application, which would ignore or withdraw from the world of actualities.

6. Recognizing the need for and the problems involved in the reintegration of rural life, it becomes the function of social scientists, cooperating with physical sci-

\* This is one of a series of articles dealing with agricultural reconstruction and agrarian culture. See, for example, "Whither Agrarian Economy in the United States?" by Louis Bernard Schmidt, *SOCIAL FORCES*, 15, pp. 196-205—*Editors*.



entists, first to understand the genesis and present forms of the problem; and, second, to aid or direct forces to the end that balance and equilibrium may be restored in some system which will insure technological efficiency cooperating with and advancing social well-being.

## II

1. To this end it behooves the student of agrarian life to view the problem from several angles, and on this basis to project what appears to be a workable plan for the consideration of those more immediately concerned with the administration of our social order.

2. Agriculture was the first means employed by humans to gain a livelihood, in that collecting the fruits of nature may be considered the most primitive form of agriculture.

3. Civilization, as we know it, began when nomadism ceased and agriculture began; thereby giving man a permanent location and enabling him to build stable institutions. Agrarian life formed the prehistoric and preliterate matrix from which our culture grew and whose indelible stamp it still bears.

4. Social thinkers and philosophers, in their speculations, have recognized the place of agrarianism in a balanced life. Among preliterate peoples this is indicated in their folklore, magic and religion. Written records from the *Code of Hammurabi* to the latest issue of the *Country Gentleman* have never ceased to emphasize the integral part of the agrarian in the totality of human culture. In all of these writings, agriculture and agrarian life is given a high place, if not the highest value, in the social orders described.

## III

1. Rural or agrarian problems attain meaning only when thrown against the

background of differing but comparable forms of social organization. That is, the explanation of the present imbalance must be sought not in agrarian culture itself, but in its relation to urbanism and industrialism. Therefore, the solution will depend upon our ability to cope with the total situation; in other words, there must be an integration of these newer forms of culture with the basic pattern from which they sprang.

The presence of these differing cultural elements has resulted in several problems:

2. Urbanism and industrialism, on the one hand, and agrarianism and agriculture on the other, have developed a deep seated antagonism seemingly inherent in their interdependent relationship. Philosophic and economic factors both enter into this situation. So long as the farmer feels himself the entrepreneur and the urban worker believes himself proletarian; so long as a higher price for agrarian wheat means a higher price for urban bread, the likelihood of concerted action seems remote.

3. This is shown in, and probably results from, the fundamentally different nature of the characteristic organization and social processes of urbanism and agrarianism. Agrarianism builds its social organization on and around the primary group, an economic as well as a social unit. Urbanism promotes a dichotomy between social and economic activity and atomizes society by breaking down the gestalt of the individual's life pattern. Exposure to multifarious folkways, *mores*, and philosophies of life from which a choice is demanded inevitably leads to more or less disorganization through realization that what had been conceived as moral is only customary.

4. Persons exposed to this disorganization are often those who seem to have possessed great potentialities for leader-

ship in their natural setting. It is argued that those who migrate to the cities are endowed with higher intelligence, initiative and education than those who remain in the rural environment.

5. Since the Great Depression has demonstrated that cities have not yet attained anywhere near the agrarian ability to meet serious crises, the question arises as to the advisability of developing urbanism at the expense of ruralism. This failure of the city has placed upon rural districts the necessity of reabsorbing a large group of migrants, possessors of a hybrid culture fitting them for successful life in neither environment.

6. This reabsorption is made extremely difficult by the fact that during its rise to dominance, urbanism has gathered within its own limits and has exploited for its own benefits many of the essential institutions and services of our social order thus denying agrarians access to them in times of economic stress.

7. Urbanism is inherently a "hothouse of cultural change," whereas agrarianism is fitted to a slower tempo of cultural evolution, so that the ideals and values cherished in these two portions of society become widely divergent. This brings us face to face with the problem of ascertaining whether or not the rapid social change characteristic of the city is beyond our ability to successfully absorb and integrate. It would appear that urbanism and technology have resulted in a disequilibrium of our society through the too rapid imposition of unassimilated and undigested culture traits.

8. Any solution, then, must plan a convergence or at least an accommodation of the attitudes and forces of social organization characteristic of these major elements of our social structure.

#### IV

1. Biologically, it seems to be clearly demonstrated that an agrarian setting is accompanied by lower mortality and morbidity than an urban. This appears in spite of the fact that the inclusion of rural migrants undoubtedly lowers true urban rates. These conclusions were reached long ago through speculative and observational deduction and have now been sanctified by statistical measurement.

2. Furthermore, urbanism is biologically impotent in that it has been unable to reproduce its own population. This points to the value of maintaining agrarian vital reserves.

3. Urban life is more tolerant of variant types, both biological and social. These variants, selected and perpetuated by urbanism, form a drain upon society and tend to become disorganizing elements; thereby the law of natural selection is partially repeated.

4. It is yet to be proven that man is biologically able to withstand successfully the conditions under which he is forced to live in the city; his years of productive labor are shortened; he is more subject to physical and mental deterioration. It would seem doubtful whether man, habituated as he is through long generations to agrarian life, is capable of making the rapid adaptation necessary to successful living in an urban environment.

5. Since urbanism has not yet solved the problem of food supply, it becomes imperative that some integration of interests between rural and city populations be worked out such as would avoid wholesale calamity in case of internal strife.

6. The concentration of human and material resources in cities makes such centers inevitable targets of an invading army because of the ease with which the entire city and the region depending upon it may be rendered ineffective and helpless.

## V

1. Although there is no such thing as a "rural mind," genetically speaking, nevertheless, since social attitudes and mental content, together with habits of thinking, are largely a reflection of the environment, it seems undeniable that there are certain important rural-urban psychological differences which must be taken into account in any successful plan of reintegrating these cultures.

2. Basically, it would appear, that agrarians are psychologically more stable, more bound by tradition, less likely to be moved by the exigencies of what may prove to be temporary situations. They are the bearers of our cultural heritage. On the other hand, cities because of the greater contact with divergent cultures become the innovators in society and perform the needed task of introducing new elements into the cultural heritage. Obviously both elements are needed—one to preserve and carry on the advances made in the past—the other to prevent cultural stagnation and ossification.

3. The agrarian derives his knowledge from direct sensory reactions highly colored by his productive point of view. This results in his being more patient, more austere, more puritanic, with a greater capacity for endurance and continued effort. He is thrown upon himself and upon a limited area; in consequence his thinking is naturalistic. He develops a philosophy of production.

4. On the other hand, the urbanite attains his knowledge through indirect means—newspapers, radio, books, motion pictures, plays. This results in his being more facile, more tolerant, more sophisticated and possessed of a wider range of interests and more empirical knowledge. He is forced to become cosmopolitan; in consequence his thinking is more artificial. He develops a philosophy of consumption.

5. The agrarian environment develops not only a personified philosophy but a vitalistic and personal interpretation of economic and social problems. Does this not offer a key approach to the social planner interested in reintegration?

## VI

1. Present thought and planning for the reintegration of agrarian interests in our culture seem to be cast almost wholly in the politico-economic mold. Such an approach to the problem is obvious and seems to offer hope of immediate amelioration; however, it must be evident that any permanent solution must be planned in terms of basic cultural adjustment of the participating folk.

2. The contract theory of government, with its insistence upon the right of voluntary participation and its assumption that economic processes are best promoted by free contract between individuals, natural or legal, was eminently suitable for the agrarian culture of the time of Thomas Jefferson. Such a theory was adequate for a society of primary group contacts, but would seem to require modification in a situation of growing complexity and indirectness of economic processes.

3. Therefore, it would appear essential that the reintegration of agrarian culture must be brought about through some carefully worked out plan in which economic and governmental agencies shall coöperate with but not stifle either agrarianism or urbanism nor the regional patterns into which they have logically and naturally fallen.

4. Such a plan must provide for an equilibrium between the various regions of the nation through coördinating the use and preservation of their resources in such a way as will promote the welfare of the whole people and will mitigate

differences and antagonisms between areas and between urban and rural elements.

5. This should be accomplished through a more equitable distribution of national income between regions, with due consideration of natural factors which affect a distinction between money income and real income. Economic and cultural patterns would assume greater importance with less regard for political or other arbitrary boundaries.

6. An essential assumption of such a plan would seem to be that the interest of metropolitan centers and their hinterlands are identical and that a regional consciousness rather than a rural-urban dichotomy would offer a logical basis for reintegration. Such a consciousness might do much toward the elimination of exploitation, both economic and political, of the hinterland by the urban center.

7. In this country it was the agrarian who penetrated the wilderness, developed trade routes, and formed a pioneer society which in turn demanded an extension of governmental facilities to care for his needs. That is, in continental United States, at least, the agrarians were the imperialists who conquered the continent and presented it to the seaboard government. Thus it might be argued that this government is under a peculiar obligation to the agrarian. However, it would seem that from an original responsiveness to agrarian interests, the government had, until recently, fallen more and more under the dominance of urban industrial forces.

8. A technique should be worked out by which agrarian interests would be given consideration by governmental policy makers more nearly commensurate to that now awarded industrial urban interests, and nearer in line with the natural importance of the agrarian in the economic structure. That is, such organization should somewhat counteract the ad-

vantages now held by industrial urban groups through concentration of population and wealth and the ensuing ability better to present needs and secure remedial legislation.

9. Consideration must be given the problem of land concentration or purely capitalistic agriculture as opposed to true agrarianism based on a system of small-owner agriculture. The whole problem of tenancy would seem to turn upon agriculture-for-profit-only, characteristic of the capitalistic attitude.

10. Moreover, the question of the effects of the taxation system in which the greater part of the burden of support of government rests upon the land becomes one demanding critical analysis and re-evaluation.

11. Similarly, the argument that tariffs, in the end, are paid by agrarians must be proven fallacious; or some arrangement for a comparable subsidy to agriculture must be made. If it be true that our tariff policy has resulted in penalizing agrarian life for the benefit of industry, and if it be true, further, that industry is now in better condition than agriculture, would it be equally just to reverse our policy by subsidizing importers so that they might sell to consumers more cheaply and thereby force industry to dispose of its products at lower profits?

12. It appears that much of the imbalance now in evidence has resulted from the ability of the industrialist to shut down his plant and throw the burden of depression on the shoulders of the agrarian through the latter's inability to do likewise. Therefore it appears that some permanent method must be evolved whereby agriculture can limit and control its production as the industrialist expands or decreases as demand warrants.

13. It would seem expedient for society to promote and protect a large group of



agrarians whose predominant philosophy is that of the entrepreneur and opposed to that of the proletarian thereby forming what may well become an essential protection against the attacks of masses of disinherited and hopeless workers whether urban or rural.

14. Sub-marginal land forced into production by the profit cash-crop economy with its consequent starvation standard of living for the necessarily large tenant group should be reallocated to uses for which it is better fitted and from which the nation as a whole as well as the land-owners would derive greater benefit with a consequent shift of tenant to small-owner.

15. This in turn calls for consideration of the problems of financing, either publicly or privately, such a population shift. It would require a revision of our present ideas of proper security and interest return on investment.

## VII

1. But underlying and more fundamental to any attempt at solution of the agrarian problem are those less obvious but more important factors having to do with social organization, institutions, culture patterns and personality adjustments.

2. Certainly any plan purporting to solve the problem of agrarian reintegration must take into consideration regional environmental variations and their effects on institutions and personality. It is evident that persons and institutions vary with the environment in which they are called upon to function. Since our ways of life, both personal and institutional, have been built on an agrarian heritage, it is questionable whether excessive urbanization will not destroy fundamental values.

3. Personality varies with and is largely determined by occupation. In agrarian culture occupations are fairly homogene-

ous. From this occupational similarity grow similar interests and personality organizations; and, in turn, afford a common consensus in which institutions function smoothly and effectively. On the other hand, the minute division of labor, which is an essential characteristic of urbanism, brings about so great a heterogeneity that society is atomized, and institutions such as we have known in the past, at least, fail of support.

4. Institutional instability leads to and in turn results from a psychological mobility. Intellectual mobility, then, strikes at the root of traditional and stable ideals and behavior patterns. It would seem that social control will depend largely upon the degree to which we successfully reintegrate urban mobility and rural stability.

5. Implications of this become at once apparent when one considers such practical problems as crime, vice, immorality, divorce, child welfare. These problems are intimately connected with the well being of the family as a social institution.

6. It would seem that the agrarian family must accept at least in part the restrictions upon the economic exploitation of children which have been forced upon the urban family. It would also seem that some scheme must be evolved whereby the members of urban families will attain more of the integration characteristic of the agrarian pattern.

7. Closely connected with the consideration of the family is the standard of living in which are involved both economic and cultural factors. Any successful plan must provide for raising the extremely low standard of agrarian living to a level more nearly commensurate with the importance of this culture group.

8. This in turn entails some means by which a higher status will be awarded the agrarian than he now holds. This will depend upon a recognition of the contribu-

tions made to society as a whole in place of the current practice of bestowing prestige upon the basis of pecuniary attainment.

9. Man's conception of himself, partly derived from his status, has a direct and important bearing upon his conception of society and, therefore, his social mindedness. It follows that when man is placed in an environment consisting almost wholly of man-made and controlled forces, it is easy for him to imagine himself omnipotent and little bound by the restraints of social organization. On the other hand, placed in an environment in which his success depends largely upon natural phenomena, he realizes his helplessness as an individual and demands conformity to social patterns.

10. Somewhere between the utter homogeneity of isolated farm units and the atomic heterogeneity of megopolis lies a coördination of these which is to be found in communities containing a fairly large population group. The disadvantages of both excessive agrarianism and cosmopolitanism may be avoided in communities of proper size.

11. Preservation of the cultural heritage of the nation depends upon the preservation of the rural heritage on which its foundation rests. While the city is the "hot house of cultural change" the country is the mechanism that sifts the wheat from the chaff and fills the storehouse so that the nation in the future may be fed on substance. The amount of substance that will be preserved depends upon the process of filtration of culture from city to country and vice versa through communication and transportation facilities since it is only in proportion to reception that there is retention.

12. Reintegration of agrarian culture has become a national problem through the over-retention of culture change by the city and the under-reception by the

country. Technology has made urbanism and urbanism has failed to share that technology with its hinterland. It has developed a technique for its masses and has failed to see as equally important the equal masses, in terms of size, on its fringe, the agrarians. It has exploited for its own use not only the agrarian and what he has produced, but the urbanite and what he has produced as well. Sharing on a more equitable basis the closely interwoven goods and services, cultural and material, of the agrarian and the urbanite is the foundation step in a reintegration of agrarian life and the establishment of the necessary equilibrium, which in turn, makes for national stability.

13. Since this is a human problem dealing with a way of life, it must call into play all the techniques of all the physical and social sciences, and will, no doubt, find as part and parcel of its resolution new social inventions more nearly commensurate with technology in the field of natural sciences.

14. Back of any intelligent action must lie a theoretical philosophy which analyzes and interprets and which points general direction. Regionalism, with its insistence on coöperation and coördination of the varied elements in the national culture and its emphasis on the necessity for the preservation of the values which have appeared without artificial stimulus, the folk culture, offers a philosophy which, it is believed, must be the basis for optimum integration, both social and economic. On the administrator rests the task of modifying and implementing such a generalized conception. It has been demonstrated that inventions take place in social as well as physical realms of life. The ultimate solution of the problems here discussed would seem, then, to depend upon the stimulation and application of such inventions.

## RECENT CHANGES IN THE FARM POPULATION OF THE SOUTHERN STATES\*

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THIS discussion deals with the changes in the farm population of the 13 Southern States during the five-year period, 1930-35. The following are among the most important of the findings.

1. The farm population of the Southern States increased from 15,586,149 in 1930 to 16,074,122 in 1935, a gain of one-half million or 3.1 per cent.

2. During the five years there was a decided change in the racial makeup of the South's farm population. Thus, the white farm population increased from 10,906,454 in 1930 to 11,621,309 in 1935, a gain of 714,853, or 6.6 per cent. The colored (Negro) farm population, in the meantime, decreased from 4,634,652 to 4,452,815, a loss of 181,837 or 3.9 per cent. The gain among the whites was great enough to offset the loss among the colored besides accounting for the increase in the total farm population.

3. In the years following 1930, there has been a considerable rearrangement or relocation of the South's farm population. A much larger percentage of the farm population is now living in those rural areas which lie in close proximity to cities, for in the rural zone immediately adjacent to urban centers the increase of the farm population has proceeded at an amazing pace. In the southern counties lying within a radius of 25 miles of cities having 100,000 or more inhabitants, the increase amounted to 19.0 per cent—25.1

per cent for the white and 5.2 per cent for the colored population. In the counties containing cities with from 50,000 to 100,000 people, the increase was also considerable—6.3 for the total population. This total represents the net result of a gain of 10.9 in the white farm population, and a loss of 1.0 among the colored farm population.

4. Besides the great gains registered in the areas immediately surrounding urban centers, the relocation of the population is evidenced by the large increases which were registered in the "poor-land" areas of the South. Those counties, which are located in the areas so ill-suited for farming that the National Resources Committee recommended them for retirement from agricultural uses, showed an increase of 10.6 per cent in the farm population. In these areas the gain among farm whites was 13.7 per cent; the corresponding change in the colored farm population was a loss of 1.6 per cent.

5. Of the 1930 farm population, only 18.3 per cent resided in areas adjacent to urban centers and the poor-land areas which we have been discussing, but these small segments of the farming territory accounted for more than two-thirds (66.8 per cent) of the total increase in the farm population of the Southern States in the five-year period.

6. The relocation of the farm population is also indicated by the following change: during 1930-35 farm population decreases amounting to 2.8 per cent occurred in counties representative of the better agricultural sections of the South. This figure represents the net effect of a 0.1

\* A preliminary draft of this paper was read before the section of agricultural economics and rural sociology, Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, Jackson, Mississippi, February, 1936.

per cent gain among the white and a loss of 5.9 per cent in the colored farm population.

The South, as used in this study, includes 13 states: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas. The data used in the following pages were taken from the *Fifteenth Census of Population*, 1930, and from *The Census of Agriculture*, 1935. The growing interest in regional problems justifies such a de-

studies throughout the nation have also focused attention upon recent trends in the rural population. Furthermore, it is important to consider the social effects of recent agricultural programs. The present policies of the national government call for a great deal of up-to-the-minute information concerning the trends in population.

In beginning the analysis, the actual and percentage changes in the farm population of each Southern State were determined. These are presented in Table I.

TABLE I  
CHANGES IN THE FARM POPULATIONS OF THE 13 SOUTHERN STATES, 1930 TO 1935

STATES	FARM POPULATION 1930	FARM POPULATION 1935	CHANGE 1930-35	
			Number	Per cent
Alabama.....	1,340,277	1,386,074	45,797	3.4
Arkansas.....	1,119,464	1,180,238	60,774	5.4
Florida.....	278,981	319,658	40,677	14.6
Georgia.....	1,418,514	1,405,944	-12,570	-0.9
Kentucky.....	1,176,524	1,307,816	131,292	11.2
Louisiana.....	830,606	859,351	28,745	3.5
Mississippi.....	1,362,843	1,332,981	-29,862	-2.2
North Carolina.....	1,599,918	1,623,481	23,563	1.5
Oklahoma.....	1,024,070	1,015,562	-8,508	-0.8
South Carolina.....	916,471	948,435	31,964	3.5
Tennessee.....	1,215,452	1,308,420	92,968	7.6
Texas.....	2,352,272	2,332,693	-19,579	-0.8
Virginia.....	950,757	1,053,469	102,712	10.8
Total.....	15,586,149	16,074,122	487,973	3.1

limitation of the subject.<sup>1</sup> The period 1930 to 1935 is especially important for study. The estimates made annually by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, United States Department of Agriculture, have indicated that the customary flow of population between rural and urban areas was completely upset during the depression years.<sup>2</sup> Scattered

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Howard W. Odum's recent monograph, *Southern Regions of the United States*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936).

<sup>2</sup> *The Agricultural Situation*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Washington, D. C.: United States Department of Agriculture, April, 1934), pp. 2-5.

Observation of this table indicates that only four states—Georgia, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Texas—registered losses. However, the decrease was less than one per cent in all of these except Mississippi and only 2.2 per cent there. On the other hand, in nine states the farm population increased. Florida, Kentucky, and Virginia were the largest gainers, the percentage increases being 14.6, 11.2, and 10.8, respectively. In Tennessee the increase was 7.6 per cent, and in Arkansas it was 5.4. The Southern region as a whole gained nearly half a million addi-



tional farm population, or an increase of 3.1 per cent, a rate of growth closely approximated by the rates in Alabama, Louisiana, and South Carolina.

Valid conclusions in the discussion of southern population questions are seldom reached until the data are classified separately for the two principal racial groups in the region—whites and Negroes. In the present instance variations in Census procedures make it very difficult to accomplish this. In the 1935 *Census of Agriculture*, Mexicans and Hindus were classed with the white population, and all other colored races, including American Indians, were grouped with the Negroes in a category designated as "colored." *The Fifteenth Census*, 1930, on the other hand, classed the Mexicans with the other races, and grouped Negroes in a category by themselves. Of course, in the state totals, the tabulations were broken down into all the distinct categories. But in the tables for county units (data for these smaller units being essential in the present investigation), the 1930 Census presented only the three categories—whites, Negroes, and other races; the 1935 Farm Census only the two groups—whites and colored. It is necessary to ask, on what bases can the data in these two enumerations be compared?

A study of the situation in 1930 reveals that in the rural-farm population, Mexicans were of importance numerically in only one Southern State—Texas. In 1930 there were 238,042 Mexicans in the rural-farm population of Texas, or 10.2 per cent of the total. The next largest number was in Louisiana, but here the total was only 2,705 or 0.3 of one per cent of the rural-farm population. In Louisiana and the other Southern States, except Texas, the number of Mexicans in the farm population can be ignored, without introducing an appreciable error. Consequently, for

1930 other races are grouped with Negroes to form a category, colored, which is strictly comparable with the category of the same designation in the 1935 Farm Census. In Texas, the Mexicans had to be grouped with the whites in 1930, and since data for the counties were essential, this could only be done by combining the "other races" with the whites, leaving Negroes in a category by themselves. However, even this procedure introduced no appreciable error for Texas, since in 1930 the "other races" on farms totaled only 596, an infinitesimal fraction of the rural-farm population. Shifting this minor group from the white population in 1930 to the colored population in 1935 introduces no error of significance. In Texas, therefore, in 1930 the other races were included with the white population.

In accordance with the procedures outlined above, the data were classified separately for the white and colored populations in each state and in the southern region as a whole. The results of these tabulations are presented in Table II, a compilation which brings out some highly significant facts. Observation of this Table shows that the white farm population of the South increased from 10,906,454 in 1930 to 11,621,307 in 1935. This is a gain of 714,853 or 6.6 per cent. Furthermore, the white farm population increased in every one of the Southern States—Florida with a percentage increase of 17.4, Virginia with one of 13.8, and Kentucky with a gain of 12.3 per cent, heading the list. Only in Texas, Georgia, Mississippi, and Oklahoma were the increases less than five per cent.

Quite the opposite was the situation among the colored farm population. This group decreased in numbers from 4,634,652 in 1930 to 4,452,815 in 1935. This represents a loss of 181,837 or 3.9 per cent. Decreases occurred in all the

states except Florida, South Carolina, and Virginia. Oklahoma was the heaviest loser, the decrease there amounting to 28.1 per cent; but in North Carolina the percentage decrease was 10.1, and in Kentucky it was 9.5. The losses in Georgia, Mississippi, and Texas also were heavier than the average for the southern region. The data leave no doubt that the depression-forced increase of white farm people was accomplished by a counter movement of colored farmers away from the land. It would be interesting to know

and racial make-up of the farm population. They show that an important redistribution of population is occurring between rural and urban areas, and an important readjustment taking place in the racial make-up of the respective populations. But there are some other interesting aspects of the problem. We might well ask, what are the fundamental readjustments, relocations, or rearrangements that are taking place within the rural territory? Are all rural territories of the South gaining and at the same rates? If not, where

TABLE II  
CHANGES IN THE FARM POPULATIONS OF THE 13 SOUTHERN STATES, BY RACE, 1930 TO 1935

STATES	WHITE FARM POPULATION 1930	CHANGE 1930-35		COLORED FARM POPULATION 1930	CHANGE 1930-35	
		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
Alabama.....	839,530	55,838	6.7	496,879	-6,173	-1.2
Arkansas.....	792,458	66,713	8.4	324,872	-3,805	-1.2
Florida.....	199,360	34,719	17.4	75,589	9,990	13.2
Georgia.....	857,925	22,688	2.6	555,794	-30,463	-5.5
Kentucky.....	1,126,379	138,124	12.3	47,853	-4,540	-9.5
Louisiana.....	451,063	37,148	8.2	375,819	-4,679	-1.2
Mississippi.....	595,353	18,514	3.1	765,376	-46,262	-6.0
North Carolina.....	1,084,715	77,780	7.2	512,505	-51,519	-10.1
Oklahoma.....	884,068	32,858	3.7	137,106	-38,470	-28.1
South Carolina.....	415,370	23,034	5.5	498,728	11,303	2.3
Tennessee.....	1,038,461	100,042	9.6	174,604	-4,687	-2.7
Texas.....	1,932,631	12,076	0.6	409,922	-21,936	-5.4
Virginia.....	689,141	95,319	13.8	259,605	9,404	3.6
Total.....	10,906,454	714,853	6.6	4,634,652	-181,837	-3.9

if this movement of Negroes from the land was brought about by the curtailment of agricultural production, or if it was promoted by the attractiveness of direct relief and WPA jobs in towns and cities. Furthermore, it should be remembered that if, as some contend, there was a more complete enumeration of small farms in 1935 than in 1930, this decrease in the Negro farm population may be underestimated, and the increase in white farm population overestimated.

So much for the gross changes in number

are the principal gains recorded? Which areas are losing? And how are these changes linked up with the shifting numbers and proportions of whites and Negroes?

During the past five years, some observers have been impressed with the increase of small suburban homesteads and the rapid multiplication of shacks in backwoods areas.<sup>3</sup> The recent "back-to-the-

<sup>3</sup> P. K. Whelpton, "The Extent, Character, and Future of the New Landward Movement," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XV (1933), 61-62.

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poor-land movement" has been noted.<sup>4</sup> Then, too, the reduction and rigid control of agricultural production by the AAA might be expected to act as a check to population growth in the chief commercial farming areas, or even to effect partial depopulation of such areas through the displacement of rural workers from their customary jobs. Accordingly, in the present study, an attempt was made to determine the general nature of the areas where the principal increases occurred and of those in which the population has

roads, 25 miles is a conservative estimate of the radius within which a city containing 100,000 or more people exercises an overwhelming influence upon the countryside. Accordingly, all counties within a radius of 25 miles from such centers were classed in a category by themselves. In handling the borderline cases, a county was included in this group if more than one-half of its area was within 25 miles of such a city.<sup>5</sup> Tabulations were then made showing the gains and losses in the farm population of these urban-influenced

TABLE III

CHANGES IN THE FARM POPULATION OF SOUTHERN COUNTIES WITHIN A RADIUS OF 25 MILES OF A LARGE CITY,  
By Race, 1930 TO 1935

STATES	TOTAL FARM POPULATION 1930	TOTAL FARM POPULATION 1935	CHANGE 1930-35		WHITE FARM POPULATION 1930	CHANGE 1930-35		COLORED FARM POPULATION 1930	CHANGE 1930-35	
			Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
Alabama.....	19,537	30,826	11,289	57.8	17,659	6,879	38.9	1,878	4,410	234.5
Arkansas.....	32,935	32,592	-343	-1.0	5,134	445	8.7	27,801	-788	-2.8
Florida.....	23,663	33,877	10,214	43.2	21,157	9,141	43.2	2,506	1,073	42.8
Georgia.....	24,960	41,967	17,007	68.1	17,781	15,528	87.3	7,179	1,479	20.6
Kentucky.....	42,218	47,646	5,428	12.8	39,908	5,277	13.2	2,310	151	6.5
Louisiana.....	2,612	3,655	1,043	39.9	2,239	816	36.4	373	227	60.9
Mississippi.....	22,816	21,627	-1,189	-5.2	5,040	143	2.8	17,776	-1,332	-7.5
Oklahoma.....	28,356	35,002	6,646	23.4	24,381	6,785	27.8	3,975	-139	-3.5
Tennessee.....	93,923	105,569	11,646	12.4	65,355	11,556	17.7	28,568	90	0.3
Texas.....	99,193	109,510	10,317	10.4	71,988	10,414	14.5	27,205	-97	-0.4
Virginia.....	53,301	65,634	12,333	23.1	37,429	10,317	27.6	15,872	2,016	12.7
Total.....	443,514	527,905	84,391	19.0	308,071	77,301	25.1	135,443	7,090	5.2

declined. Let us begin by discussing the nature of the changes in the neighborhood of large urban centers.

It can easily be shown that, during the period 1930-35, the rate of increase in the farm population has been very rapid in the areas immediately surrounding large cities. Of course, since all our computations must utilize the county as a unit, the best estimates will be only approximations. In these days of automobiles and good

areas. The data for each state and for the southern region, classified according to race, are presented in Table III. A slight examination of these data demonstrates the unmistakable magnitude of the recent

<sup>4</sup> T. J. Woofert, Jr., "Rural Relief and the Back-to-the-Farm Movement," *SOCIAL FORCES*, XIV (1936), 382-388.

<sup>5</sup> The counties included in each state are as follows: Alabama—Jefferson; Arkansas—Crittenden; Florida—Dade, Duval, Hillsborough, Pinellas; Georgia—Clayton, De Kalb, Fulton; Kentucky—Jefferson; Louisiana—Jefferson, Orleans, St. Bernard; Mississippi—DeSoto; Oklahoma—Oklahoma, Tulsa; Tennessee—Davidson, Hamilton, Knox, Shelby; Texas—Bexar, Dallas, El Paso, Harrison, Tarrant; Virginia—Chesterfield, Elizabeth City, Hanover, Henrico, Norfolk, Princess Anne, Prince William, Fairfax.

gains in farm population in the areas immediately surrounding large urban centers. In the South as a whole the farm population of these areas increased 19.0 per cent in the five-year interval 1930-35. The greatest gains were registered in the neighborhood of Atlanta, Georgia, where the increase amounted to 68.1 per cent, and in the rural territory adjacent to Birmingham, Alabama, where the farm population gained 57.8 per cent. Only two apparent losses are noted, and these in the single Mississippi county which is nearest Memphis, Tennessee, and in Crittenden County, Arkansas, just across the Mississippi River from the same city. State lines and the River play important rôles here. All told the farm population in these areas adjacent to cities of 100,000 or more increased at a rate which was more than six times that of the farm population in the entire South. To put it another way, these suburban areas, which contained but 2.8 per cent of the South's farm population in 1930, accounted for 17.3 per cent of the gain in the South's farm population 1930-35. The corresponding percentages of the farm population in 1930 and proportions of total gain, 1930 to 1935, for the several states are as follows: Alabama, 1.5 and 24.6; Florida, 8.5 and 25.1; Kentucky, 3.6 and 4.1; Louisiana, 0.3 and 3.6; Tennessee, 7.7 and 12.5; and Virginia, 5.6 and 12.1. In North and South Carolina, there are no cities having 100,000 or more inhabitants. The plantation-covered Crittenden County, Arkansas, just across the Mississippi River from Memphis, Tennessee, lost a total of 343 farm people (1.0 per cent decrease), while Arkansas as a whole gained 60,774 (5.4 per cent). In Georgia, the counties adjacent to Atlanta contained 1.8 per cent of the state's 1930 farm population. In this group of counties, the farm population increased by 17,007

(68.1 per cent) between 1930 and 1935, while the farm population of the state as a whole decreased by 12,570 (0.9 per cent). In Mississippi a loss of 5.2 per cent in DeSoto County, near Memphis, Tennessee, was accompanied by a loss of 2.2 per cent in the state as a whole. In 1930, 2.8 per cent of Oklahoma's farm population was residing in the counties within a radius of 25 miles from cities of 100,000 or more. This group increased by 6,646 (23.4 per cent) between 1930 and 1935, although the state's farm population declined. In 1930, 3.9 per cent of the farm population of Texas resided in the counties within a radius of 25 miles from a city of 100,000 or more. Between 1930 and 1935 these areas gained 10,317 farm people or 10.4 per cent, while the state as a whole lost 19,579 farm people during the same period. These data evidence the very considerable extent to which the farm population of the South has been concentrating in the areas immediately surrounding large urban centers. They also bring out the important influences which the changes in these areas have exerted upon the trends in the respective states.

The racial differences in this important relocation of population is a feature worth considering. The data leave no doubt that it is mainly the families of white farmers who are relocating themselves in the territories adjacent to large cities. In these areas, the gain in the white farm population was 25.1 per cent between 1930 and 1935, an increase nearly five times as great as the corresponding increase among the colored farm population of only 5.2 per cent. Nevertheless, the concentration of colored people (primarily Negroes) in the areas about urban centers is a significant phenomenon, for it will be recalled that the entire colored farm population of the South decreased 3.9 per cent.

Conclusions regarding the nature of the

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changes in territories adjacent to large urban centers are further strengthened by a consideration of the trends in the areas surrounding the smaller cities in the region. In this case, all counties containing a city of 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants were chosen. Tabulations were then made showing the changes occurring in the farm population between 1930 and 1935. The data are presented in Table IV. It will be apparent from observation of this Table that the farm population of this group of counties increased appre-

As suggested above, it is also important to consider the recent trends of farm population in some of the poorest and most infertile territories of the southern region. The recent *Report of the National Resources Board* enables us to identify approximately many of the poorest land areas in the South. After a more or less exhaustive study, during which hundreds of agricultural specialists were consulted, this Board recommended that certain areas should be withdrawn permanently from agricultural uses. They based their

TABLE IV

CHANGES IN FARM POPULATION OF SOUTHERN COUNTIES CONTAINING A CITY OF 50,000-100,000, BY RACE, 1930 TO 1935

STATES	FARM POPULATION 1930	FARM POPULATION 1935	CHANGE 1930-35		WHITE FARM POPULATION 1930	CHANGE 1930-35		COLORED FARM POPULATION 1930	CHANGE 1930-35	
			Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
Alabama.....	33,616	33,251	-365	-1.1	12,523	438	3.5	21,093	-803	-3.8
Arkansas.....	20,716	22,160	1,434	6.9	11,854	1,625	13.7	8,872	-191	-2.1
Florida.....										
Georgia.....	14,993	17,025	2,032	13.5	7,561	1,741	23.0	7,432	291	3.9
Kentucky.....	5,812	5,911	99	1.7	5,724	122	2.1	88	-23	-26.1
Louisiana.....	31,868	30,792	-1,076	-3.4	6,203	585	9.4	25,665	-1,661	-6.1
Mississippi.....										
North Carolina.....	95,975	107,355	11,380	11.9	76,559	13,302	17.4	19,416	-1,922	-9.9
Oklahoma.....										
South Carolina.....	71,724	78,866	7,142	10.0	35,645	2,962	8.3	36,079	4,180	11.6
Tennessee.....										
Texas.....	56,754	56,346	-408	-0.7	44,062	908	2.1	12,692	-1,316	-10.4
Virginia.....	9,350	10,667	1,317	14.1	8,740	1,195	13.8	610	122	20.0
Total.....	340,818	362,373	21,555	6.3	208,871	22,878	10.9	131,947	-1,323	-1.0

ciably. For the South as a whole, the gain amounted to 6.3 per cent. It is interesting to note that the increase among whites, amounting to 10.9 per cent, is intermediate between the gain in the total farm population of the region and the growth of population in the areas adjacent to the large centers of the South. A similar situation prevails for the colored farm population, the loss of 1.0 per cent falling well in between the loss of 3.9 in the entire region and the gain of 5.2 in the proximity of large cities.

recommendations upon the fact that "experience has demonstrated the land to be too poor to provide adequate family living and support public institutions and service. Agricultural occupation of many of these areas continues only by grace of continual public subsidy or relief."<sup>6</sup>

We attempted to identify and use the counties which lie entirely or mainly within the areas recommended for retire-

<sup>6</sup> *Report of the National Resources Board*, Washington, D. C., December, 1934, p. 176.

ment.<sup>7</sup> By no means all of the poor lands of the South are to be found within the confines of these counties, and each of them contains, in varying amounts, some productive soils. But, on the whole, changes taking place within them should be fairly indicative of the changes in the poorer sections of the southern region.

As in the preceding cases, tabulations were made showing the changes between

<sup>7</sup> The counties chosen are as follows: Alabama—Bibb, Bullock, Choctaw, Coosa, St. Clair, Washington; Arkansas—Madison, Montgomery, Newton, Pike, Polk, Scott, Searcy, Stone, Van Buren; Florida—Baker, Dixie, Liberty, Okaloosa, Taylor; Georgia—Baker, Baldwin, Bartow, Catoosa, Chattahoochee, Cherokee, Columbia, Crawford, Dade, Gordon, Greene, Hancock, Harris, Jasper, Jones, Lincoln, Marion, McDuffie, Monroe, Morgan, Murray, Oglethorpe, Paulding, Pickens, Polk, Putnam, Stewart, Talbot, Taliaferro, Taylor, Upson, Walker, Warren, Webster, Whitfield, Wilkes; Kentucky—Breathitt, Breckinridge, Calloway, Carter, Clay, Elliott, Estill, Floyd, Greenup, Hancock, Harlan, Knott, Knox, Jackson, Johnson, Laurel, Lawrence, Lee, Leslie, Letcher, Lewis, Lyon, Magoffin, Marshall, Martin, McCreary, McLean, Menifee, Morgan, Ohio, Owsley, Perry, Pike, Rock Castle, Rowan, Trigg, Union, Wayne, Webster, Whitley, Wolfe; Louisiana—Allen, Beauregard, Jackson, La Salle, Livingston, St. Helena, St. Tammany, Sabine, Vernon, Winn; Mississippi—Amite, Benton, Calhoun, Choctaw, Franklin, George, Greene, Grenada, Hancock, Itawamba, Issaquena, Jackson, Lafayette, Lamar, Montgomery, Pearl River, Perry, Rankin, Scott, Stone, Tishomingo, Wayne, Webster; North Carolina—Alleghany, Ashe, Brunswick, Carteret, Cherokee, Clay, Graham, Haywood, Henderson, Hoke, Jackson, Macon, Madison, McDowell, Montgomery, Moore, Onslow, Richmond, Swain, Transylvania, Watauga, Wilkes, Yancey; Oklahoma—Adair, Delaware, Harper, Latimer, LeFlore, McCurtain, Pittsburg, Pushmataha, Woods; South Carolina—Edgefield, Georgetown, Lee, Lexington, McCormick, Newberry, Union; Tennessee—Benton, Bledsoe, Campbell, Carter, Cumberland, Decatur, Dickson, Fentress, Grundy, Hardin, Henderson, Hickman, Houston, Humphreys, Johnson, Lawrence, Lewis, Marion, McNairy, Perry, Scott, Stewart, Sequatchie, Van Buren, Wayne; Texas—Angelina, Hardin, Houston, Jasper, Liberty, Montgomery, Nacogdoches, Newton, Polk, Sabine, San Augustine, Shelby, Trinity, Tyler, Walker; Virginia—Bath, Alleghany, Craig, Giles, Highland.

1930 and 1935 in the number of farm people living in these land-retirement areas. The results of these computations, with the changes given separately for the races, are presented in Table V.

Inspection of this Table makes very evident the fact that growth of the farm population in these poor-land areas has far outstripped the increases in the remaining portions of the South. During the five-year period, the percentage increase of population in these land-retirement areas equalled 10.6 per cent, as compared with 3.1 per cent in the southern area as a whole. Florida and Virginia were the only states in which the farm population of the poorer areas failed to increase more rapidly than that of the state as a whole. The gain among the white farm population equalled 13.7 per cent, a very substantial increase. On the other hand, the colored farm population in these areas decreased by only 1.6 per cent, as compared to a decrease of 3.9 per cent in the area as a whole.

Almost one-half (45.0 per cent) of the total gain in the farm population of the thirteen Southern States was due to the increase in these land-retirement areas. This percentage assumes a great deal more significance when we find that these areas contained but 13.3 per cent of the farm population in 1930. For each of the several states, the percentage of the total farm population residing in land-retirement areas in 1930, and the proportion of the total gain in farm population accounted for by gains in these infertile sections, are as follows: Alabama, 5.5 and 6.2; Arkansas, 6.6 and 12.5; Florida, 4.5 and 4.3; Kentucky, 38.1 and 66.8; Louisiana, 10.2 and 30.9; North Carolina 16.6 and 129.0; South Carolina, 10.9 and 19.2; Tennessee, 17.7 and 26.3; and Virginia, 2.2 and 1.8. In Georgia, 20.1 per cent of the total 1930 farm population resided

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in the land-retirement areas. The farm population of the entire state decreased by 12,570, or 0.9 per cent, in the five-year interval 1930 to 1935. But in the counties lying in the land-retirement areas during the same period, the farm population increased by 9,850 or 3.4 per cent. In Mississippi, the farm population showed a loss of 29,862 people or 2.2 per cent between 1930 and 1935, and had it not been for a gain of 11,882 (5.4 per cent) in the poor-land sections of the state, the farm

population have occurred in the recent past. The next logical consideration is the question of decreases, determining, if possible, where the losses of farm population have been taking place. If the areas adjacent to urban centers (in these areas in which intensive farming is rather general) and the poorest agricultural sections have been gaining, it is likely that the better agricultural sections have been losing. This proposition seems all the more probable in view of the recent con-

TABLE V

CHANGES IN THE FARM POPULATION OF LAND-RETIREMENT AREAS OF THE 13 SOUTHERN STATES, BY RACE,  
1930 TO 1935

STATES	FARM POPULA- TION 1930	FARM POPULA- TION 1935	CHANGE 1930-35		WHITE FARM POPULA- TION 1930	CHANGE 1930-35		COLORED FARM POPULA- TION 1930	CHANGE 1930-35	
			Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
Alabama.....	73,015	75,862	2,847	3.9	38,202	3,936	10.3	34,813	-1,089	-3.2
Arkansas.....	79,103	86,610	7,507	9.5	78,402	7,548	9.6	701	-41	-5.8
Florida.....	12,519	14,264	1,745	13.9	11,401	1,717	15.1	1,118	28	2.5
Georgia.....	286,380	296,230	9,850	3.4	162,656	11,056	6.8	123,723	-1,205	-1.0
Kentucky.....	448,920	536,385	87,465	19.5	443,843	87,682	19.8	5,077	-217	-4.3
Louisiana.....	84,968	93,833	8,865	10.4	66,315	10,613	16.0	18,653	-1,748	-9.4
Mississippi.....	219,876	231,758	11,882	5.4	145,162	11,750	8.1	74,714	132	0.2
North Carolina.....	258,973	289,333	30,360	11.7	225,414	33,176	14.7	33,559	-2,816	-8.4
Oklahoma.....	115,998	126,450	10,452	9.0	95,964	16,043	16.7	20,034	-5,591	-27.9
South Carolina.....	100,391	106,543	6,152	6.1	42,125	3,459	8.2	58,266	2,693	4.6
Tennessee.....	215,770	240,187	24,417	11.3	208,953	24,901	11.9	6,817	-484	-7.1
Texas.....	156,349	172,417	16,068	10.3	109,091	12,665	11.6	47,258	3,403	7.2
Virginia.....	20,415	22,261	1,846	9.0	19,905	1,891	9.5	510	-45	-8.8
Total.....	2,072,677	2,292,133	219,456	10.6	1,647,433	226,437	13.7	425,243	-6,980	-1.6

population of Mississippi would have declined considerably more. In Oklahoma and Texas, gains in the land-retirement areas also served greatly to offset losses in other sections of the state. These data show conclusively that the recent gains in the South's farm population are due very largely to increases in the poor-land areas of the region.

So much for the increases in farm population. The preceding discussion has identified the general nature of the rural areas where the rapid increases of farm

trol and reduction programs which governmental agencies have been carrying on in these areas. Accordingly, an attempt was made to determine the nature of the changes in the better agricultural sections of the South.

The selection of these better agricultural sections on an impartial, objective basis proved to be a perplexing matter. Variation in the intensity of culture, especially the differences between the western and eastern portions of the region and the intensive developments in the

areas immediately surrounding urban centers, was a very disturbing factor. After considerable preliminary study, the sample was taken in the following manner: (1) all counties so far included in the study were eliminated from consideration; (2) urban influences were further reduced by eliminating all counties containing a city of 25,000 or more people; (3) the percentage of the total land area classed in 1929 as "crop land harvested" was calculated for each of the remaining counties; and (4)

believed that the sample so taken is fairly representative of the situation in the general run of the better agricultural areas of the South.

The tabulations showing changes in these better agricultural areas given in Table VI, reveal some very important facts. In general these areas suffered a decrease between 1930 and 1935, the loss in the sample counties amounting to 2.8 per cent. Furthermore, this decrease was exhibited in nine of the thirteen states,

TABLE VI  
CHANGES IN THE FARM POPULATION OF THE BETTER AGRICULTURAL AREAS OF THE 13 SOUTHERN STATES, BY RACE,  
1930 TO 1935

STATES	FARM POPU- LATION 1930	FARM POPU- LATION 1935	CHANGE 1930-35		WHITE FARM POPU- LATION 1930	CHANGE 1930-35		COLORED FARM POPU- LATION 1930	CHANGE 1930-35	
			Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
Alabama.....	75,187	74,035	-1,152	-1.5	51,892	66	0.1	23,011	-934	-4.1
Arkansas.....	73,878	74,698	820	1.1	30,146	1,078	3.6	43,668	-194	-0.4
Florida.....	38,114	41,201	3,087	8.1	17,860	1,820	10.2	20,240	1,241	6.1
Georgia.....	38,797	35,441	-3,356	-8.7	11,751	-362	-3.1	26,885	-2,833	-10.5
Kentucky.....	20,897	19,980	-917	-4.4	17,470	-292	-1.7	3,391	-589	-17.4
Louisiana.....	86,591	91,097	4,506	5.2	51,688	3,691	7.1	34,679	1,039	3.0
Mississippi.....	103,148	89,911	-13,237	-12.8	33,447	-3,801	-11.4	69,629	-9,362	-13.4
North Carolina.....	77,798	71,597	-6,201	-8.0	38,170	-1,187	-3.1	39,544	-4,930	-12.5
Oklahoma.....	37,591	34,790	-2,801	-7.5	36,464	-2,082	-5.7	985	-577	-58.6
South Carolina.....	78,006	81,985	3,979	5.1	31,293	700	2.2	46,498	-3,494	-7.5
Tennessee.....	52,443	51,388	-1,055	-2.0	41,076	176	0.4	11,259	-1,123	-10.0
Texas.....	61,935	57,252	-4,683	-7.6	51,180	-1,762	-3.4	10,595	-2,761	-2.6
Virginia.....	22,349	24,258	1,909	8.5	15,547	1,637	10.5	6,801	273	4.0
Total.....	766,734	747,633	-19,101	-2.5	427,984	-318	-0.1	337,185	-17,256	-5.1

the three counties with the highest proportions of their total land area classed as crop land harvested were selected as representative of each state.<sup>8</sup> It is be-

<sup>8</sup> The sample counties in each state are as follows: Alabama—Coffee, Livingston, Pike; Arkansas—St. Francis, Lee, Lonoke; Florida—Gadsden, Jackson, Jefferson; Georgia—Dooley, Macon, Terrell; Kentucky—Fulton, Hickman, Simpson; Louisiana—Acadia, Franklin, St. Landry; Mississippi—Bolivar, Lee, Quitman; North Carolina—Greene, Halifax, Union; Oklahoma—Garfield, Grant, Jackson; South Carolina—Cherokee, Marlboro, Orangeburg; Tennessee—Crockett, Gibson, Lake; Texas—Collin,

Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia being exceptions.

As might be expected, there is an important racial difference exhibited in the data. Thus, the white population in the sample counties was practically stationary (gaining, in fact, only 0.1 per cent), although there was considerable variation between the states in this respect. However, among the colored (Negro) popula-

Ellis, Rockwall; Virginia—Clarke, Loudoun, Northampton.



tion, the losses were heavy amounting to 5.9 per cent.

These differential changes seem to indicate: (1) that the curtailment of production under the crop-control programs affected the colored worker more immediately and extensively than the white worker; or (2) that the relief and WPA jobs available in towns and cities were more attractive to colored than to white workers. Perhaps both these possibilities are true. In any case the data indicate that some fundamental and far

reaching changes in, and rearrangements of, the population have recently been under way. The rapid increases of farm population in suburban areas and in poor-land areas, coupled with the decreases of farm population in the better agricultural sections, offer a challenge to everyone concerned with the formulation and administration of agricultural policies, particularly for those attempting to evaluate the effects of policies recently carried out in the South.

#### THE PI GAMMA MU SOCIAL SCIENCE HONOR SOCIETY

Among the many organizations meeting at Chicago during the holidays in connection with the social science bodies was the National Social Science Honor Society of Pi Gamma Mu. Organized in 1924 by Dr. Leroy Allen, Dean of Southwestern College, Winfield, Kansas, this Society at first spread only in the small colleges, but in 1927 a chapter was organized in the University of Pennsylvania. Since then, chapters have been organized in over thirty universities in the United States and Canada, including one in the University of Toronto. There are now 118 active chapters including those in colleges with over 21,000 members. Since 1932 membership has been strictly limited to those who are elected by active chapters in colleges and universities. Pi Gamma Mu follows the example of both Phi Beta Kappa and Sigma Xi, honor societies which afford it its model. It elects to membership both juniors and seniors of high scholarship rank in the social sciences, graduate students of promise, and faculty members. Its three main objectives may be summed up as (1) lifting the level of scholarship of both students and teachers in the social sciences in colleges and universities; (2) promoting coöperation between social science departments and the integration of the results of the social sciences into a general social philosophy; (3) promoting the academic recognition and prestige of the social sciences in the colleges and universities. At its New York convention in 1935 the members of Pi Gamma Mu voted to limit new charters to institutions which are on the approved list of the American Association of Universities, or which have chapters of Phi Beta Kappa. At the Chicago meeting just held, it was voted to further restrict charters to institutions where the invitation came from some of the traditional social science departments: history, economics, political science, and sociology.

The present officers of the Society are: Honorary National President, Dr. Edward A. Ross, of the University of Wisconsin; National President, Dr. Charles A. Ellwood, of Duke University; First Vice President, Dr. Gordon S. Watkins, of the University of California at Los Angeles; Second Vice President, Dr. John Donaldson, of George Washington University; National Treasurer, Dr. S. Howard Patterson, of the University of Pennsylvania; Executive Secretary, Dr. Leroy Allen, Southwestern College. Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd, Dr. Edward A. Ross, and Dr. P. A. Sorokin have been elected honorary members of the Society. In addition to these honorary members certain leading social scientists who have expressed sympathy with the aims of the Society have been made nationally elected members, although there are no chapters in their institutions. In 1935 Dr. W. E. Spahr, Professor of Economics in New York University; Dr. Horace Taylor, Associate Professor of Economics in Columbia University; Dr. Amos E. Taylor, Lecturer in Economics in the American University; and Dr. A. B. Wolfe, Professor of Economics in Ohio State University, were made nationally elected members. At the Chicago meeting, Professor E. W. Burgess, Professor of Sociology in the University of Chicago and Editor of the *American Journal of Sociology*, and Professor Kenneth W. Colegrove, Professor of Political Science in Northwestern University and Secretary of the American Political Science Association, were also made nationally elected members.

## RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### PROBLEMS OF ETHNIC ASSIMILATION IN OMAHA\*

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IT IS the assumption of this paper that assimilation is an educational process. Park and Burgess have defined assimilation as "a process of interpretation and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups, and by sharing their experiences and history, are incorporated with them into a common cultural life." Assimilation is the result of shared experience. It includes participation, subtle changes, gradual growth. It functions subjectively and very slowly.

There are several theories of ethnic assimilation. The one best known in our country is the "melting pot" theory, which is merely a figure of speech. It implies a complete fusion to the extent that the individual immigrant groups lose their identity.

The World War brought to our attention the fact that we were doing nothing toward the assimilation of the foreign-born. It proved that the laissez-faire policy of doing nothing regarding ethnic assimilation was the theory in actual practice. This policy was the path of least resistance and it encouraged a complacent, self-satisfied attitude.

\* This paper was given before the Social Service Section of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, meeting at St. Louis, Dec. 31, 1935.

Another theory, which has really done more harm than good, is known as the Prussian theory. According to this theory the foreign-born are compelled to become like the native-born, standardized Americans. As much as possible of their old culture is denied them, and they are urged to forget it altogether. The whole idea is contrary to human understanding. It implies a superimposing of one culture upon another. When this is done, attitudes of antagonism are almost sure to appear.

In the theory known as ethnic federation, each group maintains its racial identity. Intermarriage does not occur, but a common type of culture is developed. All the groups live under the same laws, but each lives unto itself as far as possible. A racial pride is created and maintained. Group egocentrism reaches a high degree of development.

The next theory we wish to discuss is known as the community theory of ethnic assimilation. It implies a give-and-take process. Bogardus says, "Americanization means giving the immigrant the best America has to offer and retaining for America the best in the immigrant. It is the uniting of new and native-born Americans in fuller common understanding and

appreciation, to secure by means of self-government the highest welfare of all."

We can not ask an immigrant to suddenly give up his loyalty to his homeland where his early days were spent, where he learned his mother tongue. Loyalties are built by degrees. An immigrant may be encouraged to retain elements of his homeland culture provided he is able to fuse the old culture patterns or parts of them with his new patterns. His native language will aid him in this. It serves as a connecting link between an ancient literature and cultural history and the new country. Immigrants from all races hold the keys that unlock the cultural treasure-stores of all mankind. They may be encouraged to offer their gifts of art, music, song, and handwork to the making of a new cosmopolitan culture. The immigrant in the community theory is given and accepts opportunities to take part in community life. In return he develops a new sense of social responsibility and larger group consciousness. This theory provides for wholesome participation which will enable the immigrant to have improved living and working conditions. The motive is to overcome his prejudice and his feelings of inferiority or superiority, and to promote a general willingness to coöperate on the part of both groups.

As we study the process and progress of ethnic assimilation in Omaha, we find that most of these ideas have prevailed at times. The differences are noted largely in certain definite groups. The cultural background of each immigrant group determines the degree of assimilation rendered. Omaha has a rather large immigrant population for an inland city.

In 1920, one in every six persons in Omaha was born in some foreign country. By 1930, this had changed to one in every seven, while the total population increased 10 per cent during the decade.

The foreign population decreased from 18.4 per cent to 13.4 per cent. This decrease applies to all groups except the Italians and Poles, each of which gained a few hundred. The Yugoslavians and Lithuanians show a very large increase, but they are represented by small numbers. There has been a gradual tendency for the northern immigrant groups to become assimilated while the opposite is generally true with the southern immigrants. This is exemplified by their physical location in the city and also by a gradual acceptance of these peoples by their native-born American neighbors. This will be discussed in more detail later in this paper.

The research procedure followed in this study was an analysis of the 136 United States census enumeration districts used in the 1930 census. Only the population data were obtainable from the government; therefore, it became necessary to secure data concerning definite social situations in Omaha as a whole, and to break these down and distribute them according to these enumeration districts. This was done by preparing a series of base maps and locating the various data ecologically on individual maps. The data secured included: the condition of housing; assessed property value; building permits; mobility; relief, public and private; crime, adult and juvenile; educational and social institutions and organizations; truancy; infant mortality; membership in Y. W. and Y. M. C. A., Scouts, Campfire Girls, and Girl Reserves; number and kind of churches located within the district; birth rate; domestic relations cases; suicides; and the distribution of foreign-born family heads.

The enumeration districts which had 15 or more immigrant families were selected. These 78 districts were classified according to the leading nationality group in each district. They were then

analyzed according to the social data mentioned above.

Since time does not permit a discussion of all of the 23 foreign born groups enumerated in the census reports, we shall confine this discussion to the groups of largest numerical significance.

The Czechoslovakian group is composed of the Moravians and the Bohemians, which are two branches of the Slavic peoples. (They are referred to as Czechs). As a rule, these people are very industrious, thrifty, family-loving, well-educated, and hospitable, and have a keen sense of humor. Many of them converse in several languages. They rank very low in illiteracy. The first Czechs came to Omaha as early as 1857. By 1876, less than 100 families were here. They are not found so completely segregated as they were some 50 years ago. The appearance of the houses in the Czech districts was clean and attractive for the most part. The birth rate was somewhat above the average rate of the native born. However, the second-generation group has small families in line with the American patterns. About 50 per cent of the residences are located in regions of the city very definitely infected with pathological conditions. About half of the Czech families live in districts with Italians. There is a tendency for few of the other immigrant groups to be associated with the Czechs. In at least 50 per cent of the Czech districts the Czech population was dense and somewhat segregated. There is a general tendency for this group to become more evenly distributed over the city as they begin to participate more freely in the skilled trades and professions of American economic life.

If the social participation and leisure-time activities of a people serve as a valuable index of the degree of assimilation, the Czechs stand out prominently in

this respect. They place much emphasis on organizations, perhaps more than any other immigrant group. Their recreational interest is chiefly centered in the Sokol or gymnastic activities. There are five sokol societies in Omaha, all of national character. They dominate the social life of these people. Twenty-five lodges and societies meet regularly in these centers. Almost any evening during the year, one can see every department humming with activity with scarcely an inch of floor space unoccupied. This institution holds its people together because recreational activities of all kinds are offered to appeal to all ages of both sexes.

A federation of Czech societies, consisting of 28 organizations, has recently been organized. Topics concerning civic, educational, cultural, political, and recreational interests are discussed in their meetings. This is an effort to coördinate all the diversified interests of the Czechoslovakian people. The foreign-born generation is hopeful that this organization will create more national pride on the part of the second generation, and thus establish a deeper appreciation for the patterns of the land of their fathers.

In all phases of their activities leadership has always been found within their own group. They pride themselves in the fact that they take care of their own recreational and social needs. There is no sign of merging or uniting their activities with those of other nationality groups in their various communities. However, participation in outside activities such as are offered by the Folk Arts Society, general civic activities, and so forth are generally accepted. Both English and native languages are used in all of their relations.

The Czech leaders say that the development of cultural interests comes first in their activities, the development of a national conscience is second, and third in

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importance is the development of a wider American civic interest. At almost all of their public dances both American and Czech orchestras are employed to satisfy both generation groups. The entertainment programs are partly, if not wholly, of foreign design, folk dancing being one of the most important features. There is a marked decrease in the celebration of the anniversaries of national Czech figures. They do not care for community singing where all nationality groups sing together. They prefer smaller groups where they can sing native folk songs with greater zest and feeling. Many of the younger group sing them, even if they are unable to speak the language. Music of all kinds forms an important part in the culture of these people. One of the older members of a Czech society remarked that the efforts of the younger generation to play or sing the native music are almost sacrilegious because the young people are unable to express adequately the feeling of the serious vein in their music. Dramatics rank next to music in popularity. Their dramatic clubs are rapidly being absorbed into the clubs of the community and are losing their identity; but in all other activities there appears to be coördination without merging.

The youth participate very little in other community organizations such as the Y. M. and Scouts, as their parents put forth as much effort as possible to keep them otherwise engaged. The parents feel that their activities offer the children a brighter and broader social life than the organizations promoted by those of native-born parentage.

The religious life of the Czechs is divided into the Protestant, the Roman Catholics, and the Free Thinkers. One-third of their number are affiliated with the Catholic faith. The Catholic groups do not participate in the recreational pro-

grams as much as do the other religious groups; however, they have control of one of the sokols. The church parishes supply activities for some of the leisure time. This group is highly unified, both by religious faith and nationality. This retards assimilation. Dances and commercial projects of various kinds are sponsored. Choral work is encouraged. Orchestras and bands occupy the time of many, both young and old. Contacts are occasionally made with American groups. The leaders believe that by not discouraging these outside contacts, antagonisms and prejudices can be broken down. The Catholics discourage their members going to various parts of the city to worship and to participate in activities. As a result of that practice the Czech communities have become rather isolated and centralized around the various Catholic centers.

The Protestant group is mainly Presbyterian. It numbers about one-tenth of the population. This group sponsors recreational and educational activities very much like any American group, except that the older people have a tendency to clique together. Very little of their activities portray any traditional backgrounds. They affiliate with the various community activities and make contacts with organizations that appeal to them in various parts of the city. It is obvious that this 10 per cent of the population is becoming assimilated very rapidly and is therefore losing its national identity. The other groups show tendencies to resist assimilation.

The Scandinavian group, composed of Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians, make up the largest group of foreign born, if classified in this way; however, the census divides them into three distinct groups. The assimilative process and general characteristics of these groups are practi-

cally the same. For convenience we will discuss them as one ethnic group. During the past decade they showed a rather large decrease. These people began to come to Omaha in the latter part of the nineteenth century. They are essentially an agricultural people, but most of them who live in the city are engaged in building trades and other outdoor activities. Many of them are engaged in dairying. These people are noted for attending to their own business, exhibiting much perseverance and long-suffering in order to get a start in their adopted land. They are very seldom found in isolated areas. In some of the 24 districts in which there were more Scandinavians than any other group, a third of the families were found to be Scandinavian, and most of the other two-thirds of the population of these districts were Germans, British, and Americans.

The sections of the city inhabited by these people are clean, prosperous-looking, and well kept. The highest percentage of home ownership is found in these districts. The birth rate ranked very high also. These two factors may have been influenced somewhat by the large German population. Very little extreme poverty or wealth was found. No serious social disorders seemed to be present among these people. Mobility ranked the lowest of any immigrant group. Most of their homeland culture is preserved by the Swedish and Danish churches, and the young people are rapidly participating in the ways of America. They seem the most contented foreign-born group in the city. They are appreciative of what America offers to them. And they are constantly striving to become more efficient in their work, have a low illiteracy rate, and are satisfied with a comfortable living. They are a cool-headed, self-controlled group. The assimilation proc-

ess has taken place very rapidly among both young and old.

The Germans are well represented in Omaha by nearly 4,000 foreign born. Most of them did not come directly to Omaha from Germany, but first settled temporarily in Iowa and Northern Nebraska, and came to Omaha a few years later. The fertile farms attracted them. The first families bought farms near South Omaha, and through their thriftiness, soon accumulated sufficient money to either buy more land or a business in Omaha. They were far-sighted enough to see that Omaha was destined to become an outstanding agricultural center. The packing and brewing industries attracted many from the old country. As these two industries developed, a large number of German families came directly to Omaha. They continued to come until the World War. From 1920 to 1930 the German-born population decreased from 4270, or 2.2 per cent of Omaha's entire population, to 3700, or 1.7 per cent. Very few have come since the War.

Only one census district could be definitely classed as predominantly German, but one-third of the districts that had five or more families with foreign-born heads had several German families. They were generally found to be associated with Russians and Scandinavians. In a few districts Czech families were noticed. Districts containing the largest number of German families were located in the oldest parts of the city. Home ownership is high, and mobility is therefore very low. They have come here to make Omaha their home. Their families are usually large, showing a rather high birth rate. It is estimated that there are over 10,000 American-born Germans in the city.

The cultural and recreational interests of the German population center around three types of activities. Each division

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has a social life of its own, although there is some coöperation among all groups. Different dialects are spoken by the Germans, which is the main reason for their separation into groups. The five German Lutheran churches and one German Catholic church, scattered over the city, offer diversified leisure-time programs for their respective congregations. The German organizations have also federated their local social and civic organizations, although they are not nearly so highly organized as the Czechs. The main purpose of this federation is to promote all matters of political, social, and cultural nature in which all Germans are interested. It sponsors lectures and classes in the German language, and coöperates in efforts to make its members American citizens. The Federation includes some 22 organizations. Since the German population is so widely distributed in the city, they are unable to maintain a very highly developed national consciousness. Most of the leadership in the German organizations comes from the German-born group. The second generation show a strong tendency to align themselves with the prevailing American groups with which they come in contact.

The German immigrant is characterized by a jovial good nature and an intense love of his fatherland. The Germans enjoy community singing. The old native songs are very dear to them. Dramatics, in which the plays depict old culture patterns, make a strong appeal to them. In spite of the intense national loyalty for the fatherland, they put forth much effort to make good American citizens. They want their children to become good Americans, yet they lament the break. The parents encourage the children's participation in German classes and social functions, but the results are very poor. The German-born citizen is very rapidly

assimilated in most respects. Grade school education is usually the minimum, and in most instances the cultural development far exceeds that of the American group in which the German families find themselves. They have done well economically and have become an integral part of the economic and social life of the communities in which they live.

The next immigrant group of numerical significance in Omaha is the Italian. They show a small increase in numbers but a decrease of 0.1 per cent in proportion to Omaha's entire population. It is noted that the Italians and the Germans have nearly the same number of foreign-born in Omaha, and yet there were 14 times as many census districts definitely characterized by a predominance of Italian families. They are very much segregated into settlements. They have a tendency to colonize in groups in certain areas, thus forming definite small cultural areas in the midst of larger cultural areas. Most of the Omaha Italians have come from Sicily or Southern Italy. They came to Omaha to work in the packing plants and on the railroads as day laborers. Many of them, and especially is this true of the women, make no effort to learn the language and customs of the country of their adoption. They speak English poorly, if at all, and the homes have a foreign atmosphere.

Their neighborhoods are congested, overcrowded, and show that the houses are very poorly kept. They represent the lowest home ownership of any immigrant group and also the highest mobility rate. These districts, which represent about 8 per cent of Omaha's population, contained 11 per cent of the suicides of the city. Their birth rate is slightly above average. The other immigrant groups most frequently found in the same districts with the Italians, are Russians, Mexicans, and

Czechs. Large groups of Negroes were found in 60 per cent of the districts.

Many Italians look forward to the day when they can take their American-acquired wealth and return to the homeland. There they can live independently the rest of their lives. This outlook colors their attitude toward assimilation. The Italian is not always very judicious in his selection of means for making money. This brings him into conflict with the federal, state, and local laws. Anti-social attitudes are cumulative and, of course, are destructive to assimilation. The Northern Italians number only a few of the general Italian group. These are a much higher class. Many of them are well-educated and have entirely different attitudes than do the other groups. The Southern group has not made a marked contribution to the life of Omaha except that it has filled the ranks of the common laborer, who has had his place in the general growth of the city. The northern group has made definite contributions through its music and certain professional and technical trades.

A brief analysis of the social life of the Italians as expressed in their recreational activities helps to throw some light on their assimilative process. Until very recently their many and varied organizations have been functioning independently of each other. Now a federation has been organized, thus enabling the first generation group to make a more centralized and unified effort to retain their native-land patterns. The Italian lodges sponsor many of the recreational programs. Effort is being made by the leaders to secure some central place where all the Italians can congregate for strictly Italian activities. The national loyalties for Italy are very strong in immigrants. All of this definitely retards assimilation. Leadership in the second-generation, American-

born group is rapidly coming to the foreground. Yet the first generation has less to fear in the breaking away of the children than the other groups discussed, as the family unity is very strong among the Italians.

On the purely social side, dancing seems to be the most popular leisure-time activity. The background of the Italian people calls for innumerable festive occasions, religious and otherwise. Hardly any recreational activity is without its Italian music, which is distinctive for its softness and melodiousness. Their songs are sung in the Italian language. Many of the boys and girls participate in the folk dances of the old country. Most of the activities are considerably colored by the American customs and practices. Some of the Italian leaders remarked that they believed that their people have been placing too much emphasis on Italian nationalism, and they feel that this is the cause for so much prejudice against them.

After all, the impulsive, beauty-loving, "close to nature" temperament of the Italian immigrant is not a trait to be ignored; yet, from the ethnic assimilation standpoint, they are among our poorest groups. Many of them long to return to the homeland.

The Polish immigrants were the first large group to settle in Omaha. The others have come a few at a time. As early as 1876, a Polish church was established in "Sheeley Town," a small community just northwest of the Union Stock Yards. At that time, the Sheeley packing plant was the center of the community. Practically all the Poles worked in this plant. About 95 per cent of the Poles in Omaha live in this community. The seven census districts of Polish people are located in this region. They are the most segregated and congested of all the immigrants in Omaha. Home-ownership runs

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very high and about half of the houses seem to be well kept. The railroads and stock yards mar the physical appearance of the community. Ordinarily the Poles take care of their own people as far as material relief is concerned. Medical aid is frequently supplied by outside agencies as they have large families and much illness, due to failure to accept the American methods of prevention. They shift about a great deal within their community, thus causing a high mobility rate. The few other immigrant families found with them are usually Scandinavians, Czechs, and Germans.

Almost all of the Poles carry life insurance policies. They believe in being independent. A few of them have become well educated. They are staunch in their patriotism for their adopted land, but are very clannish. The leaders are fearful lest they lose some of their fine old-world culture traits in their effort to be real Americans.

From a numerical standpoint the Russian Jews are the next in order for discussion. During the decade from 1920-1930, the number of foreign-born Jews decreased from 3826, or 2 per cent, to 2084, or 0.9 per cent. These people began to come to Omaha in its early history and have continued to come in small numbers until recently. They are located largely in eight census districts, but many families are found in other parts of the city. When the Jews first arrive, they usually settle in one of the districts inhabited mostly by their own people of the lower economic stratum. As they gain wealth, they move westward toward the higher economic section. They are possessed with intellectual keenness and a dogged persistence, equaled in no other immigrant group. They take advantage of social and educational facilities within their reach. Regardless of how humble

their beginnings in the new world may be, the Jews set their goal and never lose sight of it until reached. From this group come merchants and tradespeople. A large number of stores and shops are owned by them. Since charity is part of their religion, they care for most all of their dependents. They are law-abiding and become good citizens. They have come here to stay and have great aspirations for their children. They accept American culture rapidly, yet the orthodox Jewish family is custom-bound in the home. These practices do not interfere with their assimilation. It represents a form of dual personality. They are real Jews and at the same time they are real Americans.

The Mexican population is largely composed of floaters, many of whom are single men, who move from place to place as the employment situation shifts. Most of them work in the packing plants and as section hands on the railroads. A few drift westward during the sugar beet season. A very small percentage of them own their homes or intend to make Omaha their permanent home. They live in poorly constructed houses and box cars. Very few can speak English. Their homes are crowded and their standard of living is low. They are usually found with Czechs and Italians as neighbors.

The Irish was one of the first immigrant groups to play an important part in Omaha's early development. They began to come in the 70's. They bought land and soon became leading business men and politicians. From 1920-1930 this group decreased one-third. They are easily assimilated and have rapidly become an integral part of the life of the city.

The British present no assimilation problem. They are distributed over the entire city. Many British families are found associated with various immigrant groups.

Since the other immigrant groups are represented by such small numbers, they play no significant part in the life of the city.

#### ECONOMICS

For this section of the study the census districts were grouped into four economic areas according to the assessed valuation of the real estate. The six largest foreign-born population groups were then distributed according to these four areas. It was found that the Czechoslovakian group had a low percentage of families living in the highest economic area. There was an increase to 11 per cent in the second area, a drop to 8 per cent in the third, and a marked increase to 78 per cent in the lowest economic area. This is accounted for to some extent by poverty and the general practice of the Czechs who do have wealth to live in less pretentious residential areas. Yet the districts occupied by them rated second in home-ownership.

The group that showed the highest percentage of families living in the highest economic area was the Scandinavian. Nearly half, or 42 per cent, were found in this area, decreasing to 32 per cent in the second, 23 per cent in the third, and only about 2 per cent of the families were found in the lowest economic area. The home-ownership data showed that this group rated the highest in that respect. Their thriftiness and conscientiousness seem to account for this general rating. This group has steadily increased its economic rating for the past 25 years.

The German districts were located in the third economic area, or next to the lowest. This area is average and just below average. Since the Germans were found in rather large number in 45 per cent

of the Scandinavian districts as well as quite widely distributed over the city as a whole, this economic classification has very little significance as far as this group is concerned.

The Italian group had about 1 per cent of their families in the first area, increasing to 20 per cent in the second area, 39 per cent in the third, and 40 per cent in the lowest economic area. This distribution is what might be expected. A large proportion of them are laborers in the packing plants. It is interesting to note that the Poles reach their economic peak in the third area, with 68 per cent, and only 18 per cent in the lowest area.

The Russians or Jews were distributed fairly evenly. Only a few scattered families were found in the highest areas, 21 per cent were in the highest portion of the second, 42 per cent in the low third, and 37 per cent in the fourth, or the lowest area. They are desirous of good homes just as soon as they are financially able to own them. Thus as they migrate from the low economic areas, where isolation is marked, they are more widely distributed and are absorbed into the general American-born population. Home-ownership rates very low in areas predominantly Jewish, but very high among those who migrate from these areas.

The British group is so widely distributed that predominant districts were very few. About 55 per cent were found in the second area and about 45 per cent in the lowest.

The Austria-Hungarian group was located in the second and third areas. The other nationality groups were fairly well distributed. There was much overlapping, since the nationality groups which had a tendency to live as neighbors were found in the same districts.

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## THE AMERICANIZATION OF MANHATTAN'S LOWER EAST SIDE

ETHEL S. BEER

*New York City*

THERE are elements in the population of New York which never quite fuse. In the twenty years that I have been acquainted with Manhattan's Lower East Side I have found this to be particularly true of this section. Externally the picture has changed, the inhabitants have fluctuated but the spirit still endures. It is a community which retains its own characteristics although, geographically speaking, it is part of the surging metropolis. It belongs to the American scene yet never seems to be completely welded. To step into these streets is almost like visiting a foreign country.

It is quite true that during the last twenty years many evidences of Americanization have crept in. By degrees the people have adopted certain standards. In their homes today there are many conveniences which have gradually assumed their proper function. For instance, it is probable that at present a bath tub is less rarely an improvised coal bin or a coop for pigeons. When they were introduced this was their most frequent usage. But nowadays even slum dwellers know better. Many of them insist on tubs for bathing although they may be satisfied with converting their two wash tubs by removing the partition. The increase in the number of bath tubs is not astonishing. Doubtless it correlates more or less closely to the situation in the rest of the country. I am emphasizing merely the purpose for which they are used.

Other features such as radios and movie houses can also be explained by the fact

that there are more in the world at present. There is a natural lag in districts where, generally speaking, economic conditions are low. (But eventually the luxuries of yesterday become the necessities of today. Therefore, it is not difficult to understand why the poor demand what might be termed extravagances.)

Just as the children must have pennies for the movies, so the growing girls insist on wearing silk stockings and dresses. The material may be imitation but the styles resemble those of their wealthy sisters. Nor do the boys dress very differently from the advertisements. That frequently these clothes are worn on entirely inappropriate occasions does not change the fact that they are the same. They are not aware as they tread their downtown streets in their finery that they look as if "dressed up with no place to go." Their life is there, so they must sport their apparel at the hour when it will be most seen. Thus it happens that on a spring evening the youth is garbed as though ready for a ball. Also, as these clothes cannot be discarded, they appear in the morning at a later date.

Over-elegance is typical of Manhattan's Lower East Side. Ultra-fashionable apparel has replaced the costumes of the "old country." But a few still remain who retain in their get-up such traditional details as the hair cut with side curls typical of the rabbi, the "sheidel" or wig worn by married women, and the prayer shawls of the religious. These symbols of Orthodox Judaism have not entirely disappeared. But they are less frequently seen.

It is but natural that the Lower East Side should be affected by the spread of education throughout the country. In the first place, there are fewer illiterates today, due in great part to the tightening of the immigration laws. Not only did these laws prevent new hordes from entering the country but as a certain amount of English is now required for citizenship, foreigners had to study it. Therefore, classes for these adults increased in number. How extensive their usage of English is in general conversation, how they have invented their own expressions is an altogether different problem. At least the majority understand when spoken to and fewer than formerly use a cross for their signature.

Of course the children brought up in this section have had to attend school for a definite period. But more and more of them are finishing high school and continuing on to college. This undoubtedly is true everywhere in the United States, judging by the expansion of free education. The aim is to give every citizen the maximum amount of schooling, deeming equality of opportunity but justice in this land of democracy.

But it seems to me that another factor enters in. On the Lower East Side there always has been an element of struggle to rise above the environment. There also has been the tendency to despise manual labor. Therefore, two fields have appealed to these people; namely, business and the professions. The professions, of course, carry more prestige. But business was until recently a quicker way to make money. Nowadays there are few openings, so the boys and girls are turning more and more to training for the professions. The depression has but accentuated a trend already evident which might be called the desire to seek advancement not only economically but socially.

Many individuals have succeeded, at least from their own point of view, in bettering their station in life.

For the population has fluctuated. Roughly speaking, there are four main groups inhabiting this section. These are the Jews, the Italians, the Irish, and the Negroes; the two latter being far less important numerically speaking.

By no means are the Jews all of the same background. They, too, are divided into groups. There has always been a great mixture, but until recently most of them came from Central Europe. Whether they came from Russia, Poland, or Germany, they had a common tongue—Yiddish. To be sure, it differed slightly according to the country of origin. Nevertheless, there was sufficient similarity for it to be generally used. The people of whom I am now speaking emigrated before the Great War. Rather ironically, many came to avoid the draft armies of their native lands only to be caught over here in the maelstrom of 1917. But, of course, the chief reason why they came was to make a living and, although many had a dreadful struggle, few returned to Europe. They preferred staying here particularly after their children started growing up.

A few years ago Jews from another part of the world entered the picture. They came from Palestine, Arabia, and Turkey. From Palestine came also some who had emigrated previously from Central Europe. But this is not the element to which I refer. It brought in no new characteristics. The rest of the group is quite dissimilar from those settled here previously. Their tongue is Ladino, supposedly the Spanish spoken at the time of the Inquisition. For at that time hordes of Jews were expelled from Spain and wandered through the Levant. These are known as Sephardic Jews in distinction to



the others called Ashkenazic. The rites of their religion differ somewhat.

While many of these people have finely chiseled faces and creamy complexions, others are as dark-skinned as Negroes but do not have their broad features. Some resemble the Arabs while others look exactly like East Indians. They came over because they were unable to make a living in their own countries where they led a nomad existence. In some cases husband and wife hail from widely distant places, having met in their travels. I have often wondered whether this exodus from Palestine has any connection with the new colonization since the war, which has brought more advanced people to those shores.

But this new element was not the only change in the Jewish population of the section. The depression has brought back many who had moved to other neighborhoods. With economic reverses staring them in the face, they were forced to return to this section of low rentals. For many of them the adjustment has been hard. Human nature does not like to retrench once it has started climbing the path to prosperity. Besides this, there have come Jews from other cities. Apparently New York is still considered a good place to make a living. Some of these people, too, have seen better times and therefore suffer in their present less fortunate environment. Either they stay on and manage after a fashion or eventually they drift back to their old surroundings.

But by no means are the Jews the only ones who color the East Side scene. The Italians are exceedingly prominent. Seemingly there are fewer today than ten years ago but this impression may be deceptive. This district is not supposed to be their stronghold yet their presence is very much part of my picture. Originally many came

to the United States to earn a fortune intending to retire to their native village. But this does not always happen. Some go back and forth continually, never deciding where to settle. This occurs even today. Others stay on indefinitely, making America their country.

For the most part the Italians of Manhattan's Lower East Side are from southern Italy or Sicily. In appearance many have swarthy skins and a cast of features distinctly Arabic. There are others, especially women, whose faces follow classical lines. Once in awhile one sees a Madonna-like beauty. The women work hard and marry young which perhaps explains why they age so quickly.

The Irish once ruled this section but now only a handful remain. They often intermarry chiefly with the Italians and produce bright-eyed attractive children who show their mixed strains. This particular group is a remnant from other days, still existing but with its real roots in the past.

On the contrary, the Negro strain is relatively new. So far there are not many but every once in awhile a Negro face is seen. Black Harlem has let a few families escape from its confines. To date there is but a sprinkling but in the years to come it may increase. For the influx of Negroes into New York is forcing many out of their own district.

I have not by any means exhausted the varieties of blood which crowd the Lower East Side. There are people from many other nations. I have personally known Poles, Hungarians, and even Scotch. But these have been so greatly outnumbered that they have added little to the conglomerate picture.

But my contention is that though the setting has changed the section still retains its individuality. Tenements have been remodeled, parks have opened, but a cer-

tain spirit endures; a spirit dominated by isolation and strong factional feelings. These two factors describe for me the peculiarity of the Lower East Side which has not been destroyed despite all attempts to Americanize it by external changes.

The bevy of tongues spoken in this section includes English but this language is by no means preponderant. Furthermore, when used, it has its own intonation and altogether original expressions. The people have twisted the grammar to suit their own fancy and evolved a lingo almost incomprehensible to outsiders. Their English, or "American" as they call it, has a flavor all its own.

But ordinarily English is not spoken in the homes at all. The families retain their native language. The children do not hear any other until they start to mingle with playmates on the street. Even though the parents know English, they rarely use it in conversation at home. As a consequence, many of the children are bi-lingual. This situation still exists today in spite of the limited immigration and the programs for teaching the older people English.

While Yiddish and Italian are probably the most frequently heard foreign tongues, these do not complete the list. I have mentioned the Ladino of the later Jewish immigrants. There are others less commonly heard. Some Jews have adopted the language of the country from which they came. For instance, those from Turkey may speak Turkish. Recently I addressed a child who spoke only Russian. The mother knows English moderately well but in their home life Russian is used. Consequently, her small son does not understand a word of English.

Nor is the learning of Hebrew a thing of the past by any means. Many Orthodox Jews still insist that their children attend Hebrew classes. There are even

some who go to religious schools instead of attending the public schools. But in any case, they must acquire a knowledge of this ancient language. Many Hebrew schools are situated in the district. They range from those large institutions which follow more or less the tenets of modern education to the one-roomed private school run by a single teacher. If the one of these that I know is typical, they are neither up-to-date nor humane in their treatment of the children. Nevertheless, they flourish.

But language is not the only sign of this isolation. With many of the inhabitants it is a very real thing. They literally never move from this vicinity; they do not even know other parts of New York. I think that this is most true of the Italians, particularly the women. They are reared in a seclusion rarely practiced in this country. If one of these women is referred to an uptown hospital, she often refuses to go unless her husband or a social service worker can escort her. She actually does not know the way. She has been protected in New York according to the custom of her own country. This is no exaggeration.

With the Jewish people my feeling is that their isolation is not so much a physical phenomenon. To be sure, some of them do not leave their district until they go to work. But it seems to me that their isolation is, in a sense, more spiritual. They will not mingle with others to any extent. They have their own little group and shun all of a different heritage. If by any chance they do marry somebody who is not a neighbor, the East Side where their own families live, ever tugs at their heart strings. They return to their parents' homes on the slightest provocation. They never seem to cut themselves loose from this environment.

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families live there generation after generation. But there always seem to be a number of the type which I have portrayed. The daughters return for the holidays or when they have a baby. They seem ever fastened to their mothers' apron strings. This might be called family feeling. But by no means is it always accompanied by intimacy or even peace. Nevertheless, the tie exists and, although ordinarily the men are the most important members of the family, in this case it is the mother who draws the circle together. In speaking of this in relation to the Lower East Side I am not so sure that it is actually typical. Certainly it has spread to other communities and seemingly disappears slowly in all Jewish family life. But, like many other traits, it is exaggerated in this particular environment. Apparently it is a carrying on of the isolation.

Closely allied to or perhaps part of this isolation is a strong factional feeling. Children seem to learn about their religion before they can have any conception of the definition. My associations have been with a Day Nursery in this section where youngsters of all denominations are accepted. Often these mites speak to one another with real venom. They bandy such words as "Chris," "goy" and "kike" as the worst insults. The older school children are loath to deliver messages in streets inhabited principally by those of another religion. A Jewish girl will say:

"Oh I can't go there: that block is full of Italians."

Real fear of Italians is often expressed by these Jewish children. On the other hand they have so little knowledge of the rest of the world that when they ask a person's religion, they often say:

"Are you Jewish or Italian?"

Later on, the prejudice may extend to all Christians. But at first they do not

take the others into account. Needless to say the Italians reciprocate and are very jealous of their own rights. For instance, if they cannot get their own way in an institution they are quite likely to be very abusive towards the Jews.

But with the perversity of human nature, despite religious antagonism there are intermarriages. My experience has been that the Italians are less inclined to marry Jews than are other Christians. In one case that I remember, the children were brought up Catholics. In all other instances, the children have been brought up strictly Jewish and sometimes the partner has also had to embrace this religion. It is as though here where the Jews are in the majority they are going to force their traditions on the minority. They do this on every occasion. On their holidays the schools are empty, on Saturdays they will not work and so on.

By no means are they always logical in their antagonisms. For example, the other day a young woman stopped me on the street and begged for advice about a poor family. When I suggested that she should send them to the Emergency Relief, she was up in arms. Never could she refer Orthodox Jews to a Christian organization. It would be better for them to starve. No amount of reasoning could make her see that the Emergency Relief is no more Christian than Jewish. She just argued wildly about the disgrace of Jews not being able to take care of their own.

Nor do these prejudices stop with the Christians. Many of these Orthodox Jews feel just as strongly against the Reformed Jews. They have no use for them. They consider them deserters. Strangely enough, too, there are cliques even amongst the Orthodox. The lines are drawn according to nationality. The Germans look down on the Austrians, the

Russians on the Poles, the Hungarians on the Roumanians, and so on. Of course, the distinction also works in the opposite direction. There does not seem any rhyme or reason to their clannishness.

Perhaps the most amusing of all is their dislike of anybody who has risen from their own social stratum. Often I have heard them say of a social service worker who is obviously but once removed from this environment:

"She's no good, she's one of us. Why should we listen?"

In such instances they much prefer a Christian. They will not be bossed by anyone of their own kind. They have absolutely no respect for those from their own background. They prefer somebody of an entirely different heritage in such a situation.

It can readily be seen, then, that this intolerance in the Jews is by no means clear cut. Rampant as the Lower East Side is, the explanation cannot be based on religion alone. The children growing up today may not have the slightest comprehension of their religion, yet their feelings are just as strong. This, to my mind, constitutes the barrier far more than the conditions under which they live.

Can it be that because generations ago they were forced to live in a physical ghetto, they have erected boundaries

which cannot be passed? For it seems as though they have acquired deep set prejudices against mixing with any even slightly alien group. If forced to do so, they will fight at first but eventually the friction will be overcome. But usually they do not give themselves a chance.

The lack of social contact with other groups may be the reason for their distinguishing differences. But it might also be called the effect. For we can only learn about one another through mingling. We can only broaden our point of view by knowing individuals from many layers of humanity. Nowadays when the world is so closely knit together, this is almost a necessity. For a variety of acquaintances teaches that no rules and regulations can make everybody fit into one category. Probably this is the first step towards the understanding of human kind. Without this understanding we cannot build up tolerance. Because we have not as yet attacked this problem vigorously on Manhattan's Lower East Side, the old spirit endures in spite of the changes in the surroundings. This is the flaw in the Americanization program. So far, the elements have not fused. Therefore, it is easily comprehensible that they do not really blend into our ideal picture of American democracy.

The following release comes from the University of Southern California: On the fifteenth day of January a dinner-reception was tendered Dr. Emory S. Bogardus at the University of Southern California in recognition of his twenty-five years of leadership in sociology and social work and his twenty years of editorship of *Sociology and Social Research*. Brief but impressive speeches were made by Dr. Rufus B. von Klein Smid, President of the University; Dr. Rockwell D. Hunt, Dean of the Graduate School; Dr. Charles N. Reynolds, representing the Pacific Sociological Society; and representatives of the student body, the graduates in Sociology, and social welfare agencies. A leather portfolio was presented the guest of honor containing congratulatory letters from outstanding sociologists and from former students the world over, a number of whom are contributing editors of *Sociology and Social Research*.



## GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspects of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AND MOBILITY OF LABOR

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A COMMON criticism of unemployment insurance is that it increases the immobility of labor and prevents workers from moving into possible jobs. If this is true we are faced with the paradox that unemployment insurance has a tendency to foster the very evil it was set up to alleviate. The purpose of this paper is to examine the various channels through which unemployment insurance may bring about these alleged consequences and to assess, as far as possible, how important they may be. The experience of England and the probable results of unemployment insurance in the United States have been drawn on to form the basis of the analysis; and because the newly enacted Indiana law (1936) reflects the philosophy of the Social Security Act it is used here, where applicable, as a typical example of American procedure.

#### I

The simplest hindrance to mobility occurs in respect to the possible movement of unemployed persons into temporary employment, such as odd jobs or casual labor involving a few hours a day. If insurance laws are so drawn that benefits are lost for every day a worker is employed even for part time, it would not pay an

unemployed worker to take any job that paid no more than the insurance benefit.

A well-drawn statute, based on experience, will do something to avoid this trouble. In England for example, a worker is not regarded as "employed" merely because he is working on odd jobs. If the work is of the kind ordinarily done outside of regular hours, or in addition to regular employment, or if the pay does not amount to more than three shillings four pence per day, the worker is still regarded as "unemployed" and remains eligible for unemployment benefits. Yet while this narrows the sphere of work that would actually impose monetary loss on the worker it does not remove it altogether, since there is an area of short-time work within which he would receive less by working than by being idle. Under these circumstances a good deal of short-time work may go begging, and pressure to force acceptance would be unpopular and ineffective.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For example, if insurance benefits average five shillings a day and work is available at one shilling an hour, it would not pay to take any work involving more than three hours. Up to three hours, a man would be adding his wages to his benefit, and for three hours work his total receipts, benefit plus wages, would be eight shillings. But for anything over three hours work, he ceases to be "unemployed," loses his benefit, and has wages only. For four hours

The Indiana law avoids this particular difficulty by its provisions in regard to partial unemployment. If a man's earnings for any week fall below the benefit paid to persons fully unemployed (i.e., one-half of regular wages), he is entitled to a partial benefit sufficient, when added to his wages, to equal the benefit for total unemployment. Apparently, therefore, there is no possibility of work being offered that is not worth taking, even by persons willing to work rather than be in receipt of benefit. For jobs that pay any amount up to half-pay for the week are as good as insurance, and jobs that pay more are better.

However there remains the possibility of workers preferring to remain idle if they do not earn more than the insurance benefit, particularly if the interruption of their receipt of benefit imposes some formality and lost time in getting back on the roll of the unemployed. Hence it might be necessary to force such persons into eligible work. The usual device is to refuse benefit to those who do not accept "suitable" work. But in Indiana suitable work is specifically defined, among other things, as work yielding per week at acceptable wages remuneration greater than the weekly benefit for full time unemployment. No compulsion, therefore, can be exerted upon workers who do not choose to take casual work paying no more than benefits, despite the fact that it is to the interest of every employer to have them do so, so as to save on the fund.

One may conclude that unemployment insurance tends to produce some unavoidable immobility in respect of movement

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work his receipts would total four shillings, and he would have to work eight hours before his total receipts equalled what he would have had by working three. Hence as long as the insurance lasts there will be no workers available for odd jobs involving over three hours work.

into odd jobs and casual labor, and that consequently the amount of useful work done is smaller and the cost of idleness larger than it otherwise would be. But the consequences of this kind of immobility are hardly likely to be large in the aggregate, though they are the source of the many complaints to the press from dear old ladies, etc., who, with men idle around them, cannot find anybody to mow the lawn, clean the windows or repair the plumbing. And while such complaints are often trivial, they are the kind that impress the public and may do harm to insurance systems quite out of proportion to their real importance.)

## II

(More important are the impediments to movement from a declining industry.

When all industries are slack, as in cyclical depressions, little movement from industry to industry is likely to be possible. But when an industry is declining while others remain relatively prosperous, transfer of workers is desirable and anything that puts obstacles in the way is as such an economic nuisance. Some of the provisions commonly found in unemployment insurance laws seem to have this effect.

Thus insurance systems usually provide that workers qualify for benefit so long as they cannot find "suitable" work in their own occupation and at standard rates of wages. And it is not expected, at least for a period of time, the length of which depends in practice on whether the workers are skilled or not, that they should have to take work in other occupations. Such provisions though justified in general, undeniably tend to impede the movement of workers from a declining industry, especially if they are older men with family ties.

Thus in England, the coal trades,

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textiles and ship building have all been regarded as unnecessarily clogged with workers because of the insurance system, aggravated in this case by the extension of benefits beyond the period set by the normal relation of benefits to contributions. It is true that the degree of pressure making for mobility can be stepped up by appropriate sharpening of the provisions of the law. In 1927, for example, following the recommendations of the Blanesburgh Committee, the English law was amended to require workers "after a reasonable period" of unemployment to accept employment not in their own occupations provided it carried wages such as were paid by "good employers."

But as the employment exchanges, because of the limited coöperation of employers, only place some twenty per cent of workers registered as unemployed, even this sharper definition of suitable work is not likely to force out unwilling workers during the duration of the insurance benefits.)

In the Indiana law, the procedure for determining suitable work, and thus for putting pressure on the unemployed to accept employment is in the hands of the Director of the Division of Unemployment Compensation.

The Director, in determining the suitability of work for any individual, is instructed to consider the degree of risk to his health safety and morals, his physical fitness and prior training and experience, the duration of his unemployment and prospects for securing local work in his customary occupation, and the distance of the available work from his residence. Furthermore, no work shall be regarded as "suitable" which does not yield a total remuneration per week greater than the weekly insurance benefit, or in which the wages, hours or other conditions of work are substantially less

favorable than those prevailing for similar work in the locality.

These provisions clearly imply, (1) that no one will have to take either very low-paid work or part time work of a half a week or less, even though the employer is "standard"; (2) that no one will have to take any work, no matter what the pay, under "sub-standard" employers; (3) that no one, ordinarily, need take work that is not suited to his capacity or training or is too far away from home; but (4) that if unemployment persists and prospects for securing "local work in customary occupation" fade, a person may be expected to take work that would not otherwise be "suitable."

These provisions are so liberal to the worker that they are not likely in practice to give much impetus to movement from any industry. Probably the most that can be expected is that younger men with no roots in the community can be moved out a little faster than otherwise. Indeed as neither the employment offices of Indiana or of any other state are likely to be able to place in work more than a fraction of the unemployed, the most effective force making for mobility will be the expiration of the insurance benefits under the statutory time limits.

### III

A third deterrent to mobility, which often reinforces the second, arises from the tendency of unemployment insurance to encourage systematic short time in a condition of declining demand, whether temporary or (relatively) permanent. The precise working of this encouragement depends on the various incidents of the insurance law.

In England the tendency arises from the operation of the so-called "continuity rule" whereby a person out of work continues to qualify for benefits (and

does not have to re-establish his claim) provided he has three or more days of unemployment in a period of six consecutive days, Sundays excluded; and whereby also any two such periods of unemployment may be linked together to form one continuous period, if not separated by more than ten weeks.

Under this rule, there is a direct advantage to those workers who would otherwise be unemployed to press for short time all round, for thereby they would get wages for (say) three days plus benefit for three days, instead of the six days benefits if they were completely unemployed. Furthermore, if the concern or industry is already practising short time there is a direct advantage to the workers if the employment is so arranged that they qualify for benefits. Thus, whereas in a plant working four days a week, the workers get wages but no benefit, in the same plant working the first five days of one week and the last three days of the next they would get the same wages plus three days benefit.

As the English employer has no strong motive to avoid arrangements that cause expenditures from the insurance fund (the fund being a pooled one), and as he might expect the workers who gain from an arrangement that gives them wages plus benefit to make concessions on the wages, he is very likely to fall in with the workers' wishes and concede short time, unless his business is such as to make such a procedure costly or troublesome. He would be particularly likely to do so in non-factory trades like mining or ship-building adaptable to short time work. The only drawback (and this might be important) is that short time by increasing the number on the pay roll, increases also the employer's current contributions to the insurance fund (they are based on numbers not wages) and to that degree is less advantageous than concentrating

work in a smaller full-time force, the rest of the workers being thrown on the fund.

In Indiana, the conditions of the law offer even more encouragement to short-time practices. For, whereas in England, short time though directly profitable to the workers is only indirectly so to the employers, in Indiana three circumstances make short time directly profitable to the employer, who, after all, must make the final decision. These circumstances are: (1) that each employer, having his own insurance reserve, looks with favor on any arrangement that will keep this reserve intact; (2) that short time workers receive no benefit from the fund so long as their weekly earnings are not less than standard benefit for full employment, i.e., half wages; and (3) that current contributions to the insurance reserve depend on the pay roll, not on the numbers of workers, and are therefore not increased by short time all round.

In a slump under these provisions, it would clearly pay an employer, if he could do so without disturbing his business unduly, to put the largest possible fraction of his force on half time or more, rather than concentrate his work on some and let the rest fall back on the insurance benefit. For by this arrangement his wage bill would be no higher and his insurance reserve would remain intact.<sup>2</sup>

Possibly his workers might object to

<sup>2</sup> If an employer who normally employs 400 men at \$20 a week, runs into a slump that reduces his demand by one-half, then the results of the two alternatives are as follows:

(1) Letting half his men go:		
200 men at work at \$20	=	\$4000
200 men on insurance at \$10	=	\$2000
(out of his fund)		—
		\$6000
(2) Putting all on half time:		
400 men at work at \$10	=	\$4000
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this arrangement since those who would have been released, under the first alternative, would be just as well off with insurance benefits, without the necessity of working. But doubtless they would prefer the work to make sure of their jobs, and if this were not enough, the employer could afford to give a small bonus or wage increase to all his workers, to make the scheme attractive. He would still make a substantial saving.

There seems therefore an undeniable tendency making for systematic short time; and it is by no means certain that the public interest is served thereby. Indeed the objections to this arrangement are obvious.

If the shrinkage of demand is permanent, there is no motive force pushing workers out, and the distribution of workers into other lines of work which the public interest demands is by that much delayed. Indeed it may be delayed very long. For once systematic short time has been established, not only is the employer anxious to avoid the drain on his funds which would be caused by changing his labor policy (a drain that would last fifteen weeks in Indiana) but the workers who gain thereby (that is, the less important workers in the group) have a powerful interest in seeing it maintained. These thus tend to perpetuate a serious maldistribution of labor, which tends to reduce the national dividend below its attainable maximum.

If the shrinkage of demand is temporary, as in depression, so that labor need not move out of the industry, there still remain three objectionable consequences. (1) The standards of all workers are reduced whereas reliance on insurance for the completely unemployed would have limited this reduction to a part of the force with no substantial loss to the workers affected. (2) The total purchasing power distributed is less than it would

have been had insurance been used, defeating to that degree one of the declared purposes of insurance, namely maintenance of the level of consumption. (3) One of the motives making for stability of employment is removed, and another aim of insurance defeated.

This third possibility is particularly unfortunate since it is often claimed that the burden of insurance will move employers to stabilize employment, provided the laws are so drawn as to penalize unstable industries or concerns, either by varying insurance rates, or by rebates and penalties based on experience, or, as is usual in American laws, if each employer's fund is kept separate and payments allowed to decrease with the size of the fund and cease when it reaches a certain level. But where the employer is moved to adopt systematic short time as an answer to fluctuation of output rather than seeking to abolish the fluctuation, the desired effect is missing. Thus in Indiana it is hoped that as each employer is interested in maintaining his own fund intact he will do what he can to reduce unemployment among his workers. But if he can prevent drain on his fund just as well, and perhaps just as easily, by systematic short time as by stabilization of his output, there is no guarantee that he will do anything to regularize his employment.

Consequently it is probable that if employers move in the direction of regularization, it will be from motives associated with scientific management rather than from the pressure of unemployment insurance.

#### IV

[Finally insurance tends to increase immobility by discouraging movement from insured into uninsured occupations, and from more fluctuating into less fluctuating insured occupations.]

It has often been noted that workers tend to over-estimate the (net) advantages of fluctuating compared with steady employment, and as a result are willing to accept wages which, though higher than the average, are not adequate to cover the risks involved. In such occupations the marginal (net) product of labor is consequently relatively low and the national dividend is reduced below its (attainable) maximum.<sup>3</sup>

For the same reason it is probable that the advantages of unemployment insurance will be over-estimated, not only in comparing insured with uninsured occupations, but also in estimating the earnings of the more fluctuating insured trades, where unemployment benefits, once begun, are likely to last for longer periods of time than in other insured trades.

Thus it is a common complaint in England that agriculture and domestic service cannot fairly compete with insured occupations; and doubtless the same complaint will be heard in the United States, where, as for example in Indiana, not only agriculture or domestic service, but also all employers normally hiring less than eight persons are excluded from insurance.

Similarly, unless the provisions of the law are specifically designed to prevent it, workers will be attracted by the larger aggregate benefits of the fluctuating trades. If insurance rates are made proportionate to the degree of fluctuation, and provided they are levied largely on the workers themselves, so as to exhibit openly the cost of fluctuating employment, this tendency would disappear. But in systems where for administrative convenience flat rates are maintained, or where, though rates are varied, workers are not assessed proportionally, these alleviations would not occur, and unduly large numbers of workers would tend to crowd the fluctuating occupations.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pigou, *Economics of Welfare*, Third Edition, p. 493.

#### CONCLUSIONS

From this survey of the possible effects of unemployment insurance on mobility, one must conclude that, partly by the very nature of the insurance, partly because of certain provisions found in all laws and clearly justified by their specific purposes, some tendency to tie workers to occupations and places is unavoidable. And in so far as this occurs, unemployment insurance tends to maintain or increase the volume of unemployment.

(One should beware, however, of attributing to unemployment insurance, immobility which may be due to other causes. Family ties, personal lack of initiative, especially among older workers, lack of housing facilities in areas of expanding employment (particularly important where women workers are concerned), trade union rules, lack of training for new trades, all these make for immobility, insurance or no insurance. What is more, some if not all of the immobility traceable to insurance would reappear, were insurance abolished, through the effects of charitable and poor relief expenditures or through works relief as in late years in the United States.)

All these factors, then, cause immobility. How much can be seen in our own coal mining areas, where no insurance has been available. And only such effects should be assessed on insurance as are in addition to those produced by the social habits of workers, the sentiment of the community, poor relief and charity, etc. Moreover with wider experience in the working of the system, with greater care in the drafting of the law, and with the increased effectiveness in the placement of labor which may reasonably be expected from the employment offices as time goes on, even these unfavorable incidents and tendencies may be reduced to negligible proportions.

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## THE POOR MIGRANT IN CALIFORNIA\*

WILLIAM T. CROSS

*Palo Alto, California*

MIGRATION is characteristic of the American people. Each census from 1850 to 1930 has disclosed the movement of one-fifth of the native Americans away from their states of birth. The migrants have invaded all sections of the country, the longest sustained major movement being into California. They have been, to a considerable extent, individuals and families near the line of bare subsistence. While there was good land in large quantity available for homesteading, the federal government was able by that means to deal with the recurring demand of citizens for a fresh start.

With the disappearance of the open frontier for settlement in the Eighteen Nineties, an end of the continual fluctuation was supposed to be at hand. Forty-one years ago a young teacher at Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson, wrote: "The westward march has stopped, upon the final slopes of the Pacific; and now the plot thickens. Populations turn upon their old paths; . . . with the change, the pause, the settlement, our people draw into closer groups, stand face to face, to know each other and be known." But Wilson misjudged the trend. Since he wrote this description, in 1895, "the settlement" of California as the result of a continued "westward march" has trebled; that of its southern metropolis, Los Angeles, has increased seventeen fold. On the other hand, Wilson was correct in his observation of the tendency of people to "turn upon their old paths." One hundred and twenty-seven thousand Cali-

fornians by birth were found at the last census to be living in other states, to the eastward of the tier that borders on the Pacific Ocean. More than ten thousand transients from California were, on a single day in 1934, registered at relief centers in other parts of the country.

But population has accumulated where the path turns, "upon the final slopes of the Pacific." In 1930, two-thirds of the inhabitants of California had been born outside the state. Population increased during the preceding ten years by 65 per cent, at an average rate of 225,000 a year, as a result of the greatest internal migration in the history of the United States.

Immigrants who, during this decade, located independently on farms did not do so generally by homesteading, in the manner of pioneers. There were only eighteen thousand more farms in the state in 1930 than in 1920. For comparatively few newcomers were the traditional three steps upward toward agricultural self-support available—wage work, farm tenancy, ownership. Nearly two hundred thousand wage workers were required on the farms. Seasonal laborers during slack periods used the metropolitan districts as hibernating points. Urban population increased twice as rapidly as rural.

California has, in investment value, one-half of the irrigated land in the United States. This land is devoted largely to intensive crops; especially to fruits, nuts, and vegetables, and recently to cotton. Much hand labor is necessary for harvesting these crops, and to a lesser extent for planting and cultivating. Agriculture is specialized. On only 15 per cent of the farms of rich Santa Clara County, for

\* This article is in nowise a summary of the book, "Newcomers and Nomads in California," to be released shortly by the Stanford Press.

example, are vegetables raised for domestic use.

Many producers, especially the smaller ones, have not provided adequate living accommodations for seasonal workers. To be adequate, from the standpoint of public welfare, housing would accommodate not only the personnel eventually employed, but also the surplus of applicants for work. Several thousand laborers, many of them with their families, move into each of the more important producing areas in anticipation of the harvest. "Their homes are tents or nondescript shelters," said the relief chairman for a southern county in 1933. "Everything that can be used to form a wall is used. The floors of these dwelling places are dirt. On make-shift stoves they do their cooking. Very infrequently is any attempt made to screen their shelters." And he added, with reference to the statute requiring special school organization for the seasonal population, "Their children receive only a smattering of education, due to the frequent moves of their parents."

Uncertainties of labor supply at the critical moment, and of market for the crop, affect the process of employment and of wage bargaining. Some employers favor the use of groups other than white labor. Their standard of preference, as summed up during a recent state investigation concerning Mexicans in California, is: "availability, capability, dependability, tractability, economicalness." This describes also the other foreign labor groups who came before the Mexicans. First were the Chinese, many of them brought in under contract for the completion of transcontinental railroads. Then came the Japanese, who were eliminated when they entered into competition as independent land owners. With the withdrawal of American youth for service in

the World War, great numbers of Mexicans were brought in. A considerable proportion of these have during the last five years been repatriated.

In the year 1913, when migratory labor still meant aliens, hop workers rioted at Wheatland. A state commission on immigration and housing was immediately created by the reform administration then in office. The commission was directed to aid in the assimilation of foreign immigrants. It was also authorized to investigate industrial conditions and opportunities for labor, including public works; to inspect the places in which migrants were housed, and to see to it that this group received the protection of existing laws against exploitation. Unsanitary housing on ranches was matched in the cities by missions and flop houses, with crowded sleeping quarters, with sparing service of salvaged food, and with despotic orderliness, maintained in an atmosphere of religious evangelism. The commission set standards of sanitation for encampments of seasonal laborers, and reported on a plan for temporary relief, in language that was surprisingly applicable to conditions eighteen years later, in 1931.

In the fall of that year, with the spread of the depression, a new note was struck in the gamut of experiences with immigration. The surplus supply of agricultural labor had become staggeringly excessive. At the focal point of difficulty was Los Angeles. Dependent people tended to accumulate in the warmer southern section of the state during the winter months. This brought on a crisis of instability. In Los Angeles County nearly one and one-third millions of new population had been pyramided, in the years 1920-30, on a pre-existing base of less than a million. Ten thousand near-destitute people were reported to be coming across the state border monthly. There was a sud-

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den desire to reverse the process by which eastern people had come as a result of advertising, if only the effect could be limited to the penniless and unstable section of the population. A footnote was added on chamber of commerce publicity, warning against coming in search of employment. Meetings of business executives and public officials were held, with representation from surrounding states. A delegation was sent to ask the governor to call out the National Guard, to stop the influx of undesirables at the state line.

Instead, the governor established a large number of labor camps. Two hundred and fifty of these camps were in operation at one time, with maximum enrollment of 7,500. Views of men working in the snow were broadcast, outside the state. In local publicity, emphasis was placed on the humanitarian treatment of non-resident men who were ineligible for county relief, and of resident single men for whom only scant assistance could be obtained. The taxpayer was reminded that needed public improvements were being made at low man-hour cost. Property owners could see that threatening aggregations of able-bodied men in desperate need were being removed from city streets to healthful spots in the open country.

But funds for these hurriedly improvised state public works ran low after two winter seasons. By no means were all the destitute homeless men cared for, even in winter. The camps were closed during the summer months, each man being given a bonus of five dollars, in the hope that this might enable him to leave the state. Nevertheless, in the summer of 1933 free shelters were seething with applicants. Huge jungles were growing in the outskirts of cities, and even in remote rural locations.

The railroads and highways of Cali-

fornia were lined with free riders. Extra freight cars were provided for these pathetic mendicants. They were shuttled back and forth, a hundred or more to a train, between the larger cities. On arrival they were met by policemen, who gave directions for reaching local shelters and soup kitchens. This circling farce ran on for months, under a well understood practice whereby outsiders were passed on after one day's assistance. Some were taken by their futile itineraries outward across the borders into adjoining states, but the prevailing movement of indigent population was into the state. Every community and every state was for itself—let chaos take the itinerant hindmost! It was an appalling demonstration that the control of interstate migration is neither a local nor a one-state function.

Then came the federal transient service. The use of federal funds "to aid needy persons who have no legal settlement in any one state or community" was authorized by the emergency relief act of 1933. For the first time in American history, public assistance was made generally available for the unsettled poor. The passing on of non-resident indigents by local authorities was summarily stopped. Transportation was provided, under favorable circumstances, for the return of families, of women, and of boys, to communities of earlier residence. Non-residents in need were urged, under each of the two federal work relief administrations, to go back to their old home localities and register for employment. But they did not go. Many, in fact, had been away from their original locations so long that they had lost residence rights as defined in the poor laws of the various states. The turnover of registrants at transient relief centers remained high. The movement of needy migrants, particu-

larly of drought refugees, into California continued, unabated.

For all destitute migrants *except migratory laborers* the federal transient authority provided work relief camps, similar to the labor camps of the state regime. In the larger cities it operated shelters for single men and service bureaus for families. Enrollment grew through all seasons of the year, until a maximum of more than forty thousand registrants was reached, on April 15, 1935. The number, allowing for seasonal effects, had not materially decreased when, in the fall of that year, the registration of applicants was abruptly discontinued.

And California, in respect to transient relief, fell back to the inadequate position of 1931. The pressure gauge swung immediately to the extreme of decentralization in governmental action. Los Angeles, the exposed nerve center in the migrant situation, was again on the defensive. The chamber of commerce sanctioned a plan under which nearly two hundred policemen from the city are reported to have been stationed along the state's boundaries, to divert the stream of undesirables. The policemen were given appointment as deputy sheriffs of the rural counties to which they were assigned. This proceeding was unlawful, according to an opinion issued by the state's attorney general. But the city in its distress continued to make use of the only tool at its disposal, a kind of extra-mural vagrancy procedure.

A more comprehensive measure had been proposed by representatives of Los Angeles at the meeting of the state legislature in 1935. The governor was for one year to be empowered and directed to use all means that might be necessary, to exclude "all paupers, vagabonds, indigent persons and persons likely to become public charges, and all persons infected with

a contagious or infectious disease." "The burden of proof," it was stipulated, "shall be upon each such person . . . whose right to enter the State of California is in question." It is extremely significant that constitutionality was claimed for the measure on the ground of the *State's* inherent right of self-defense.

A succession of failures, this series of expedient devices in dealing with the migratory problem! Futility has followed particularly the overlooking of two considerations. One is a matter of constitutional law: Direct restraint upon movement of citizens across state lines is contrary to the guaranty, "The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States." The other consideration relates to the poor law: Able-bodied citizens are little influenced in respect to migration, by the denial of right as non-residents to the receipt of relief.

From the very limitations of measures that have been tried, however, may be drawn valuable suggestions for public policy. In the beginning, in California, the issues of population adjustment were avoided through importation of foreign labor. Later, in the creation of the state immigration and housing commission there was no plan for employment of the inevitable surplus of seasonal labor, or for direct ameliorative action on behalf of the migrant. The state public works plan of 1931-1933 was not built to last. Subsequently, the federal transient service gave relief from hunger and exposure, but it was not pointed toward assimilation of the interstate immigrant.

Had public policy and organization since the turn of the century been directed steadily toward the assimilation of interstate immigrants, the result would clearly have been more constructive. The ad-

ministrative roads toward stable existence, for the outcast fringe of mobile population, are well beaten. One of them is public health and medical service. Such service, extended throughout the country, would bring incalculable improvement in the outlook for the migrant, and would protect the communities through which he passes. Another road is adequate education, for adults as well as children; education that relates to life. The high-road is specialized organization to secure employment, under living and traveling arrangements that are not exhaustive of body and of resources. An important avenue of rehabilitation is the provision of facilities for developing individual thrift, in place of the present pitfalls in the way of the migrant's good intentions. Again, through public administration these American citizens may be encouraged to maintain responsible community relationships.

The possibilities and limitations of federal action are suggested in the recent establishment of two model camps for migratory laborers in California, by the United States Resettlement Administra-

tion. Sites for four additional camps have been approved. These "model" demonstrations, however, cannot preclude the necessity of adopting a more comprehensive public plan, based upon local-state-national accord, and aimed at the assimilation of all interstate migrants who are capable of adjustment. Precedents exist in the historic land openings of the federal government, and in the United States Immigration Service.

California is only one of a number of states to which interstate migration has in recent years brought acute issues of public policy. The governor of Colorado, for example, was reported last April to have called out the militia to patrol the state's southern border against incoming agricultural laborers in search of work, and then to have rescinded the order. The ninety-year record of one-fifth of the population migrating across state lines has not been interrupted. If people on the trail of opportunity for subsistence do not go west, they must move east, or north, or south. "Populations turn upon their old paths."

#### PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The Pacific Sociological Society held its eighth annual session at the University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, December 28-30, 1936. At its first joint session with the Pacific Coast Economic Association, the general subject *Social Security* was discussed by the representatives of both organizations. Dr. William S. Hopkins, University of Washington, and Dr. George B. Mangold, University of Southern California, read papers on "Seasonal Employment and Unemployment Insurance" and on "Translation of Social Theory into Social Legislation," respectively. The second joint session heard Dr. Carl Sauer, University of California, on "Regional Reality in Economy," who advocated a total-situational methodology. Dr. Charles N. Reynolds, Stanford University, and president of the Pacific Sociological Society, and Dr. Kenneth Duncan, Pomona College, president of the Pacific Coast Economic Association, delivered their thought-challenging presidential addresses on the subjects, "Sociology and Social Reform" and "The Economist and his Critics," respectively.

In addition to social security, the Society's program covered a wide range of topics of direct interest to sociologists. Under *Criminology and Penology*, two papers were given by J. Herbert Geoghagan, supervisor of education, U. S. Penitentiary at McNeil Island, dealing with "The New Penology in Practice," and Dr. Lloyd LeMaster, Oregon State Agricultural College, who spoke on "The Comparison of Continental and English Law in the Handling of Criminals." Concerning *Recent Social Theory*, Dr. Elon H. Moore, University of Oregon, and Dr. Elton F. Guthrie, University of Washington, offered seasoned papers on "Blanks in Social Theory" and "The Absence of Historical Perspective in American Sociology and the Revival of Historical Materialism," respectively. The session devoted to *Methodology and Research Techniques* scattered intellectual sparks from two diametrically opposed papers by Dr. Arthur E. Briggs, Dean of the Metropolitan Law School, Los

(Concluded on page 454)

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RUPERT B. VANCE, FLOYD N. HOUSE, MALCOLM WILLEY, AND OTHERS

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## LEADERS OF SOCIAL THOUGHT

L. L. AND J. S. BERNARD

Washington University

Three thousand years is a long stretch in the social thinking of man. But here are type representatives of the main trends of thought through that long period of time. And through the minds of these leaders we may discern something of a thread of development in social theory.

### I

THE PROPHETS AND ISRAEL'S CULTURE. By William Creighton Graham. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. XV + 117 pp. \$1.50.

MANU: A STUDY IN HINDU SOCIAL THEORY. By Kewal Motwani, Madras: Ganesh and Co., 1934. XVII + 261 pp. Rs 3.

DIE GERECHTIGKEITSLEHRE DES ARISTOTELES. By Barna Horváth. Szeged: Szeged Varosi Nyomda es Könyvkiadó R.-T., 1931. 48 pp. Ara 3 pengő.

LUCIAN, PLATO AND GREEK MORALS. By John Jay Chapman. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931. VII + 181 pp. \$2.00.

CICERO AND HIS INFLUENCE. By John C. Rolfe. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1932. VII + 178 pp. \$1.75.

AUFBAU UND QUELLEN VON CICEROS SCHRIFT "DE RE PUBLICA." By Niels Wilsing. Leipzig: Druckerei der Werkgemeinschaft, 1929. 98 pp.



It is fitting that our first volume should illustrate the theological interpretation of life, since, according to Comte, this was mankind's first manner of thinking. But Graham's *Prophets* is concerned with theory only incidentally and in so far as it illustrates the culture of the age in which these old ethical stalwarts were seeking for a new perspective upon the ways of man's adjustment to men and things and gods. Motwani's *Manu* brings us immediately into the metaphysical way of looking at things. Although the gods still sit on their thrones in the age of Manu, the élite are already beginning to think in terms of that new metaphysical system which the western nations came to call Natural Law. Few of the Hindus have gone beyond this method even in our day. But Motwani's volume, mixing metaphysics and sociology as did the subject of his monograph, gives us a peculiarly encouraging picture of the social thought of the times of Manu, possibly too encouraging.

Both the *Prophets* and *Manu* naturally took an ethical point of view. So did Plato, thus frequently obscuring the abstract metaphysical truth, says Horváth. But it was the virtue of Aristotle, he adds, to put the discovery of truth before the determination of the right and the moral. Aristotle comes back to ethics in his principle of the golden mean or temperance, which is a deduction from the facts of life as they are. Thus, Aristotle's *Politics* is the first great scientific treatise on the right of social relationships as well as on the facts of society. According to Chapman, Plato even missed a correct ethical view of human relationships, especially because of his complaisance about pederasty, and it remained for Lucian of the second century A.D. to set Plato right with his marvellous command of satire and insight into the values

of life. Chapman thinks rather poorly of Plato on all scores and ranks Lucian above him as a commentator upon mankind.

Equally delightful reading is Rolfe's *Cicero*. Certainly Cicero in no way suffers at this author's hands. If one gains too little insight into the great Roman's social theories from this book, he is compensated by the insight given him of the social and philosophic world in which Cicero moved and of the influence exerted by this author upon the culture and thought of the Renaissance and our own times. Wilsing traces the social and ethical philosophy of Cicero back to Isocrates rather than to Polybius, as is the custom. According to this author, Cicero both deplores the decay of the Roman public spirit, because of the growth of luxury and depravity, and seeks to restore it by means of an exhortation to a spiritual rejuvenation after the manner of the great Greek dialectician.

## II

JEAN BODIN ET LE DROIT PUBLIC COMPARÉ DANS SES RAPPORTS AVEC LA PHILOSOPHIE DE L'HISTOIRE. By Jean Moreau-Reibel. Paris: J. Vrin, 1933. XVI + 279 pp. 40 fr.

DER STAAT BEI BODIN. By Georg Fickel. Leipzig: Universitätsverlag von Robert Noske, 1934. VII + 62 pp. RM 2.50.

MONTESQUIEU ALS POLITIKER. By Walter Struck. Berlin: Verlag Dr. Emil Ebering, 1933. III + 334 pp.

CONDORCET, THE TORCH BEARER OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By Anne Elizabeth Burlingame. Boston: The Stratford Co., 1930. VII + 249 pp. \$2.50.

LES UTOPIES PRÉREVOLUTIONNAIRES ET LA PHILOSOPHIE DU XVIII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE. By Auguste le Flamanc. Paris: J. Vrin, 1934. 177 pp.

The leap from the days of Cicero to the sixteenth century A.D. seems less long when we remember that Bodin based his theory of organized society largely upon Aristotle and Cicero, as well as upon Machiavelli and his contemporaries.

Moreau-Reibel sees Bodin primarily as a student of law (the Law of Nature school) and treats largely his theories of government and rights; but this leads him also into an analysis of his theory of environmental factors in relation to the development of history. His treatment of Bodin's theory of historiography is one of the best we have. Fickel seems to use Bodin as an aid to Nazi propaganda. He calls attention to Bodin's emphasis upon monarchy as a compulsory means to corporate unity and harmony. This, he says, is what the modern German theory of the state also stresses in its insistence upon a realistic organic conception of totalitarian political behavior.

Struck's analysis of Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws* is enriched by an account of the influence of Sidney, Locke, and Bolingbroke upon his theories and the reaction of Voltaire, Helvetius, Von Haller, Adolf Stern and a large German school of writers to the *Spirit of Laws*.

Dr. Burlingame's *Condorcet* is not a brilliant study of this remarkable man, but it presents a sympathetic and compact analysis of his leading theories and of their development in relation to the spirit of his time. It is all the more useful because it gives more attention to his educational theories—perhaps his greatest contribution—than do most of the biographies. The last days of struggle against intolerance and neglect are also adequately told. Le Flamanc's *Pre-revolutionary Utopias* is an important book. It adds greatly to our insight into that magnificent tangle of hopeful, reconstructive thinking that was going on around Saint-Pierre, Voltaire, Rousseau, Helvetius, Diderot, d'Holbach, and others who had caught a new and intoxicating vision of a modern world. The book begins with the Reformation and comes down to the Revolution. It is not necessary to agree

with all of the author's judgments to profit from his scenario.

### III

LAS TEORIAS POLITICAS DE BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS. By Lewis Hanke. Buenos Aires: Casa J. Peuser, Ltda, 1935. 65 pp.

MONTEAGUDO. By Maximo Soto Hall. Buenos Aires: Editorial Tor, 1933. 191 pp.

ECHEVERRÍA Y EL SAINT-SIMONISMO. By Raúl A. Orgaz. Cordoba (Argentina): Imprenta Argentina, 1934. 71 pp.

LOS AMORES DE SARMIENTO. By Porfirio Fariña Nuñez. Buenos Aires: Editorial Tor, 1934. 255 pp.

JOSÉ INGENIEROS Y SU OBRA LITERARIA. By Ricardo Riaño Jauma. Habana: Arellano y Cia., 1933. 159 pp.

Las Casas, though born in Spain, was the first great social theorist of Latin America. Hanke has summarized briefly his theories that government and rulers are the product of the choice of the people, that the pope as ruler over all Christians is supreme over the kings, and that the Indians must therefore be ruled according to the teachings of Christianity, that slavery is not natural but a political accident, and that the Indians had (1550) already proved themselves capable of self-government and should be left to the Church to be converted to Christianity instead of being enslaved. No other such voice in defense of liberty was heard in Spanish America until the struggle for independence after 1810. Monteagudo, one of these new protagonists of freedom, was a man of action as well as a theorist of democracy. Soto Hall has described his multiple activities throughout South America, sometimes as he worked with Bolivar and sometimes as he worked more or less on his own.

Once established, the Spanish American republics were faced with their own problems of social salvation. Naturally they turned to the thinkers of Europe for intellectual aid. Echeverría spent five

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years in France (1825-1830) and imbibed the theories of Saint-Simon, which he introduced into Argentina, with such modifications as seemed to him wise. Orgaz has given an interesting analysis of this development in the thinking of the poet-philosopher of Buenos Aires. But it was President Sarmiento of the following generation who became the first great Argentine sociologist. Fariña Nuñez has limited himself largely to the political maneuvers of the great leader, and out of these he has made an attractive human interest story. But greater than Sarmiento as a sociologist was Ingenieros, the Argentine son of an Italian immigrant. In fact, this versatile man achieved distinction in medicine, psychology, criminology, cultural history, and sociology. His *Sociología Argentina* follows in the tradition of Sarmiento's *Facundo* and does the work better. Riaño Jauma's account of his literary and scientific labors is nothing less than fascinating.

## IV

HEGEL UND DIE HEGELSCHESCHULE. By Willy Moog. München: Verlag Ernst Reinhardt, 1930. 491 pp. RM 10.50.

DIE GESCHICHTSPHILOSOPHIE AUGUSTE COMTES. By Alexander Marcuse. Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1932. XII + 182 pp. RM 6.80.

GOBINEAU UND DIE KULTUR DES ABENDLANDES. By Josef Kaufmann. Duisburg: Duisburger Verlagsanstalt G.m.b.H., 1929. 179 pp.

LA VIE TRAGIQUE DE LAMENNAIS. By Victor Giraud. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1933. VIII + 188 pp. 15 fr.

Moog traces Hegel's theories through the Jena and Frankfurt periods and finds the roots of his philosophy in Fichte, Schelling, Rousseau, and others. Moog also gives an account of Hegel's followers and critics, but most of the book is devoted to an analysis of Hegel's theories of religion, the state, law, history, the

family, logic, and metaphysics. Unlike Hegel's social theories, Comte's did not get a hearing until the Third Republic, which Marcuse thinks was based on the positivism of Mill and Littré. Marcuse also clears up, in part at least, the controversy over Comte and Saint-Simon. It seems that Comte got the general outline of his thought from his teacher and employer, but that he in turn did much, as Saint-Simon's secretary, to systematize the latter's rather inchoate ideas and he even put together one of his books for him. Marcuse is inclined to explain the Comtean departure from scientific into religious positivism in the latter part of his life as the result of an emotional and intellectual pathological development. The book is very stimulating.

Kaufmann seems to have been influenced by both Gobineau and Spengler, for he applies the former's culture types and race theory to the problem of the future set by the latter. He reacts against Gobineau's fatalism and also his pan-Germanistic nationalism. Kaufmann's studies lead him to a fuller recognition of the importance of environmental factors along with the racial and also to the conclusion that western culture can be preserved only by adopting a European, instead of a nationalistic, base. Lamennais began as a partisan of the Latin culture and the Catholic religion, but was gradually switched by his personal experiences into a position of open opposition to the mother church and into that of a defender of the new radical politico-social doctrines of the nineteenth century. This is the tragedy of which Giraud speaks. It was one of those almost cataclysmic changes in a powerful mind which resounded throughout the nineteenth century and is here told with marked dramatic effect.

## V

KARL MARX: HIS LIFE AND WORK. By Otto Rühle. New York: The Viking Press, 1933. VIII + 419 pp. \$5.00.

THE BEGINNINGS OF MARXIAN SOCIALISM IN FRANCE. By Samuel Bernstein. New York: Elliot Publishing Co., 1933. X + 229 pp. \$2.50.

DER KAMPF DER FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG GEGEN FERDINAND LASSALLE UND DIE GRÜNDUNG EINER SELBSTÄNDIGEN ARBEITERPARTEI. By Hans Ebeling. Leipzig: Verlag von C. L. Hirschfeld, 1931. IV + 200 pp.

DIE DEUTSCHE SOZIALDEMOKRATIE BIS ZUM FALL DES SOZIALISTENGESETZES. By Kurt Brandis. Leipzig: C. L. Hirschfeld Verlag, 1931. VIII + 124 pp.

LE SOCIALISME EN FRANCE DEPUIS 1904. By Alexander Zevaés. Paris: Fasquelle Editeurs, 1934. 186 pp. 12 fr.

Otto Rühle's life and analysis of Karl Marx is perhaps the best in existence. It is comprehensive, intensive, scholarly, and discerningly critical. It is the one book on Marx that sees him clearly in relation to his background and the major historical trends of his time. Thirty-four illustrations of other leaders in the movement and of kindred items add greatly to the impression of this work. Bernstein's book on the Marxian movement in France is almost as good, although it substitutes more meticulous detail for the vast interpretative swing of Rühle. Bernstein begins with Blanqui and ends with the Havre Congresses. He treats the Marxian development in close conjunction with the labor and revolutionary movements of the times.

Ebeling's monograph is a detailed and well documented summary of the intense struggle between Leopold Sonnemann, editor and representative of the liberal movement in Germany, and Lassalle, founder of the German labor movement. The liberals, armed with the economics of Adam Smith, were fighting a fierce battle against surviving feudalism and strongly resented the split in their ranks produced by the new fourth-estate party

of Lassalle. Brandis continues the history of this party. He finds that it was petty bourgeois rather than proletarian and that, while it nominally accepted Marxism, it actually was reformistic and opportunistic and suffered illusions of upper class support which was to come with a majority party status. These illusions disappeared only under the impact of the Great War. This war produced much the same disillusionment in the socialist party of France, which never had the same degree of unity as that of Germany. This vain struggle for unity is the chief theme of Zevaés' work. The program of the three leaders—Guesde, Herve, and Jaures—are brought out in strong contrast. The last chapters of the book are concerned with the great split at Tours and the radical developments since that time.

## VI

AMERICAN ECONOMIC THOUGHT IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By E. A. J. Johnson. London: P. S. King and Son, 1932. XI + 292 pp. 12s.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF HENRY GEORGE. By George R. Geiger. New York: Macmillan Co., 1933. XIX + 581 pp. \$3.00.

THORSTEIN VEBLEN. By Richard Victor Teggart. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1932. VII + 126 pp.

Continuing still further in the direction of economic theory, we find in Johnson's work a treatment principally of the sociological and political theory underlying economic ventures and processes in early American colonial history. This description applies with especial force to the ideas regarding colonization, wealth, trade, marketing ethics, communism, government support, etc. of the colonists. The author has gone through the documents of American history with a fine tooth comb to get his data.

It is still a sociological point of view that appears in the *Philosophy of Henry George*, although it concentrates chiefly



on the themes of land ownership and taxation. But Geiger shows in his sympathetic treatment of George that he was much more than an economist, and certainly not orthodox in either his economics or his sociology. The experiential origins of his views are brought out clearly, his controversy with Herbert Spencer is aired, and his relation to socialism and the religious and moral theories of his age is also emphasized. George was a queer mixture of belief in Natural Law and in modern science, and an astoundingly dynamic personality, as the author shows. Perhaps this is the best book on Henry George.

Veblen was, of course, primarily a sociologist and the content of Teggart's monograph is documentary evidence on this point. A long chapter on Veblen's career and background is very helpful. For the rest, the treatment is primarily of Veblen's method and point of view and of the effect that these had upon his criticism of conventional business enterprise and economic theory and of the social organization of the modern world. A greater emphasis upon Veblen's theory of culture history would have been welcome.

## VII

ROBERTY, LE POSITIVISME RUSSE ET LA FONDATION DE LA SOCIOLOGIE. By René Verrier. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1934. 233 pp.

EMILE DURKHEIM: SOZIOLOGIE UND SOZIOLOGISMUS. By George Em. Marica. Jena: Verlag von Gustav Fischer, 1932. VIII + 174 pp. RM 9.

F. TOENNIES ET LA SOCIOLOGIE CONTEMPORAINE EN ALLEMAGNE. By Victor Leemans. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1933. X + 125 pp. 15 fr.

F. TOENNIES EN DE DUTSCHE SOCIOLOGIE. By Victor Leemans. Brugge: "Excelsior," 1933. 203 pp.

L. T. HOBHOUSE: HIS LIFE AND WORK. By J. A. Hobson and Morris Ginsberg. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1932. 360 pp. 12/6.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES OF WILLIAM TORREY HARRIS. By Thomas Henry Clare. Belleville, Ill.: C. Hepp Printing Co., 1935. IX + 262 pp.

Verrier is a young journalist of Marseilles, possessed of a sparkling wit and a keen sense of values. In a reserved journalistic style he has traced, with illuminating documentation, the growth of Roberty's thinking and of his sociological system from his early days in Paris, where he came under the influence of the Comtists and Littré, to the time of his death, May 8, 1915. The whole range of systematic speculative sociology lies within that period and this volume throws a generous light upon it from the positivist angle.

Durkheim got farther away from his original positivism than Roberty, but he never wholly divorced himself from it. Marica says that he was fundamentally always a moral philosopher, seeking a sanction for conduct in the group will rather than in a theological dictum. His early writing was cold and logical, but his later work was more emotional and less austere. Influenced at first mainly by Comte, Renouvier, Spencer, and Espinas, he later allied himself largely with the culture sociologists and reversed in his theory the traditional relationship between psychology and sociology, making the latter basic to the former. Marica has given us a new and fruitful view of Durkheim in relation to the movement of sociology as a whole. Much the same has been done for Toennies by Leemans, who has traced the somewhat vacillating sociological development of this German savant and liberal through his long career. This author makes of Toennies even more of a synthesist than was Durkheim. In fact, he finds little or nothing original in him, but traces the sources of his ideas throughout the panorama of social thinkers from the time of Hobbes down to the present. But he does not consider Toennies unimportant because of his synthetic development.

The analysis of Hobhouse is a tribute by two friends of England's chief social theorist since Spencer. Hobson wrote the life and Ginsberg contributed the analysis of his theory. About one hundred pages of selections from his writings illustrate his approach to the subject of sociology. The first and only extensive exposition of the sociological theories of W. T. Harris is that by Dr. Clare. A careful and painstaking analysis of the several hundred written remains of Harris' thinking yielded a very considerable result which the author has arranged and documented and interpreted under the headings of Educational Sociology, Social Psychology, Sociology of Religion, Social Problems, Sociological Method. It is an able synthetic contribution to sociological theory of a type that should more often be performed with reference to other non-systematic writers on sociology.

## VIII

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES SINCE 1905. By Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar. Madras: B. G. Paul and Co., 1933. XXVII + 377 pp. Rs 41-

OTTO VON GIERKE. By Sobei Mogi. London: P. S. King and Son, 1932. 291 pp. 15s.

Two more works on the borderlines of sociology should be mentioned here. Sarkar's book is not limited to political philosophy, but includes summaries of leading contributions to jurisprudence, anthropology, sociology, and social psychology as well. Gierke touches sociology through his insistent concept of community sanction or association (*Genossenschaft*), which runs through all his social theory. The account of his life and writing is, of course, decidedly worth while in itself.

\* \* \* \*

Thus ends the present survey of current historical social theory. The trend toward scientific analysis of social data and toward human collective sanctions to replace the old supernaturalistic and metaphysical sanctions is clear and unmistakable.

## ON CLIMBING TO THE FOOT OF THE LADDER

JOHN MACLACHLAN

*University of North Carolina*

PREFACE TO PEASANTRY. By Authur F. Raper. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936. 423 pp. \$3.50.

This volume is perhaps the first locality study to be enriched for the reader by the regional orientation offered in such volumes as *Southern Regions of the United States* by Howard W. Odum (University of North Carolina Press, 1936) and *Human Geography of the South*, by Rupert B. Vance (University of North Carolina Press, 1932). A detailed inquiry into every aspect of life in Greene and Macon counties, Georgia, Mr. Raper's picture becomes one of

significant points in the great "Black Belt" subregion, where formerly it would have been in danger of being thought a sketch of areas selected for some spectacular deviation from the general norm.

The quality of the *Preface to Peasantry* makes plain the reciprocal values of the locality study to the broader view of the region. Although Mr. Raper makes no claims for the general application of his findings, in nearly every chapter one finds an important footnote to previous sociological knowledge of the Southeast, new facts or aspects of fact which have major

value. The great advantage of the locality study, done by a trained mind, is that the relatively small spatial limit of the area makes possible a detailed inquiry into the inter-relationship of psycho-social and material factors.

#### THE LOCALITY IN THE REGION

Greene county began its career as a "cotton mine" in the late Eighteenth Century. Macon did not become a cash-crop area until nearly half a century later, yet today this difference in economic age appears to be sociologically unimportant.

In Macon county both the gross incomes and the gross living expenditures of families of both races in all tenure categories appear to be practically twice those of Greene county, yet one finds little if any difference in health, education, cultural and social development to accompany this arithmetical contrast. Apparently the significant fact is that all the tenure groups, including farm owners, have incomes less than the American "minimum standard of decency."

The one county was developed originally by "aristocrats," the other by "yeomen," yet in 1936 the social anthropologist would find few significantly different culture traits. In both counties one sees the contemporary "Black Belt" social-economic landscapes and horizons, the scatter of crumpled cabins, the sweep and roll of worn-out fields, the half-starved social institutions, the spiritual isolation, and the psycho-social disunity of the people. It is interesting but probably unimportant that one area came to this pass through the breakdown of great plantations, the other through the decline of small farms.

This kind of observation is as important to the social planner as to the regional sociologist. Inquiry into historical or economic variations between localities

within a subregion is likely to demonstrate that only very great arithmetic or very profound historical differences can be considered to demand an especial modification of methods of social engineering.

#### NEW DEAL VERSUS FOLKWAY

No part of the work is more valuable than the sections (pp. 223-272) which deal with the impact of the local way of life upon the plans of the New Deal. The NRA (pp. 225-243) failed to affect a large majority of employees and actually resulted in unemployment for a good many others. The Federal authority could be only partially successful, confronted by the established patterns of regional life, in establishing a uniform wage scale for the two races, a standard eight-hour day, and wage levels comparable to urban or national rates of pay. The actual working of NRA leads the author to observe

... that whatever success the NRA had in Greene and Macon counties was due, in no small degree, to the traditional loyalty to the Democratic party, a loyalty grounded in the peculiar hopes and fears which have given substance to the "Solid South" with its white supremacy, segregation and racial differentials. (p. 243)

This conversion of questions of national policy into an equation of regional folkways and mores is observed equally in the career of the AAA, the CWA, the WPA. By the time these agencies have been oriented in the locality, their manifest advantages seem to go most often to those who need them least. Even the relief program and the valiant work of the Red Cross are in some measure subject to the same comment.

Relief in the rural communities is still controlled largely by the landlord: first, the tenants and wage hands hardly dare ask the relief office for help unless the landlord concurs; second, the applicant often has little chance of securing aid unless recommended,

vouched for, by the leading white farmer of his community; third, a complaint from a landlord that a relief client refused to work for him may result in his being dropped from the roll. (p. 259)

The moral to be drawn from such observations seems to be that the special social-economic patterns of the Southeast require special treatment of a kind a single uniform national program can hardly provide. Parenthetically, the reviewer has observed instances in which local administrators, understanding clearly how the folkways operate, have been able to carry out the Federal plan with little or no opposition.

#### THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL LANDSCAPE

Mr. Raper looks closely into the psychic patterns, the emerged folkways and mores, associated with the traditional man-land relationship of the Black Belt. The nature of his subject permits him to examine carefully the complementary patterns of attitudes, their historical origins, and their relations to material and economic factors. Thus the "shiftlessness," the irresponsibility, of the tenant-laborer population may be described as a deeply rooted social cynicism, a bleak doubt of the beneficence of fate and the landlord. Greene county's disadvantaged tenants

... are not particularly bitter about their losses, but they have experienced a profound disillusionment and now many of them propose to spend everything they get as soon as they get it. To the vast majority the urge for home ownership is gone. They are fatalists of the first order. (p. 215)

As for their neglect of house and garden, of equipment and land, it seems to be as a south Georgia cropper remarked to the reviewer: "if somebody put you into a ol' broke down pair a' shoes, you wouldn't bother to jump no puddles!"

Besides the manifest obstacle to social regeneration created by such attitudes

among the disadvantaged, the author finds a parallel and causative pattern of landlord attitudes which is of equal seriousness:

The established relationship between landlord and tenant has made a puny dictator of the one and a fatalistic plodder of the other. Before there can be any significant change, the tenant must have reason for feeling that he can improve his lot by the application of industry and intelligence; the planter must realize that he has more to gain by ending the present parasitic tenant system than by maintaining it, for the plantation first impoverishes its workers and then disinherits its owners. (pp. 173-174)

As Mr. Raper makes clear, this end can be accomplished only by setting up some plan with obvious, tangible, relatively immediate advantages for both landowner and tenant farmer. The basic problem, accordingly, is to devise a program which will either make use of or avoid conflict with the more basic folkways. The proposal to rely upon diversified farming and the development of coöperative activity, set forth by the author, needs to be especially adapted to Southeastern circumstances. Tenants merely set up on government-owned land may not recognize that their way of getting a living has been made more advantageous. Landlords who see in such a program only a direct subsidy to their former laborers are likely to turn against it. The problem of "selling" a new landuse program to these people is infinitely more delicate and difficult, as it is more important, than the task of deciding upon mere financial methods.

Here we find the ultimate value of the locality study. The sociology of the Southeast has been developed to the point where direct study of representative areas or groups in the population can best increase its social usefulness as well as its scientific accuracy. Through such inquiries the regional approach can achieve perhaps a greater functional reality than



is possible for any other. Through the use of techniques which Mr. Raper does not utilize in his work the locality study may come to reveal even more of the essence of life in the subregions of the Southeast. Reading the *Preface to Peasantry* leads one to hope that it will be

examined by all who are interested in the multifold problems of Southeastern life. Even more, it is to be hoped that similar undertakings can be applied to other subregions, and that equally vital pictures of their social-economic realities may be offered to scientist and social planner.

## THE SLUMS OF MIDAS OR THE HOUSING OF DEMOS?

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**SLUMS AND HOUSING.** By James Ford with the collaboration of Katherine Morrow, George N. Thompson, and I. N. Phelps Stokes. 2 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936. 1033 pp. \$5.00 each.

An outline discussion of the contents of this abundantly illustrated Phelps-Stokes Fund product on New York City's housing problem will precede the more detailed consideration in this review.

Volume I. *Definitions* of slums and blighted areas fill the first twelve pages wherein the authors do not wholly agree with some of the more common sociological assumptions, especially certain of those applicable to Chicago. *History*, 235 pages; hundreds of fascinating facts and quotations. Who would have suspected that New York had use-zoning as early as 1703, or that in 1850 the big city was "one elongated cesspool," or that between 1885 and 1895 the Tenement House Commission had difficulty with Trinity Church over the water supply and sanitation for its many houses? *Contemporary Conditions* occupy 182 pages in which social ecology, social pathology, and inter-city comparisons are dealt with. The work as a whole brings in much pertinent data on major cities here and abroad. *Slum Prevention* takes 67 pages of discussion on decentralization and city planning, concluding with a fourteen point outline of social policy

which, to be effective, must be a "product of character" and "leadership . . . which grows out of fair consideration for alternatives."

Volume II. *Slum Elimination* fills an even hundred pages. Demolition, land acquisition, rehabilitation, and housing the dishoused are described and analyzed with generous picturization of European methods of dealing with slum ugliness. The authors had a hard time with the 228 pages on *Rebuilding Slum Areas*, and well they might, for they enter into that complexity and perplexity where law, economics, standards, management, and sociological realities tangle themselves with property rights and profit motives, private interest and public ownership. The reader also will perspire as he tries to grasp all that is involved if an orderly solution of the housing problem is ever to be achieved. *Concrete Recommendations* as to the future housing policy for New York City embrace thirty-eight items in a dozen pages, and these bring the discussion proper to a close. A richly illustrated *Appendix*, mainly architectural, covers 110 pages and concludes with recommendations pointing to the hope that within twenty years the worst of New York's slums will be eliminated. *Bibliographical* materials, including a bibliography of housing bibliographies, and an *Index*

fill compactly the last sixty pages of this definitive and comprehensive work.

So much of interest stands out in the historical chapters that it is a temptation to dwell upon them. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the city was presenting serious problems of health and sanitation. The first half of the nineteenth century found bad housing linked with vice and disease for the lower economic groups. The period 1850-1900 was one of poverty, exploitation, and crowding for profit's sake. The 25 x 100 foot lot was and is today a curse to land and man (p. 202). Against the nasty profit-seeking of the nineteenth century are heard the remonstrances of seers like J. H. Griscom, C. D. Wright, and Jacob Riis. At this time congestion was taken for granted, and it was commonly believed that the poor "deserve no better or that they lived in this manner from choice. Such attitudes still persist" (p. 121). Probably, as the authors mention in several places, ten per cent of the present slum dwellers need institutions, not better housing. This historical part will hold many a reader because of its sheer human interest.

Foreign visitors, especially those from England, have observed our American mind as revealed in the quotation a few lines above. They are astonished at the degradation of our slums and rebuke us for not tackling the problem with anything like a universal realization of its importance. Yet a statement issued October 3, 1936, by our Federal Housing Administrator pictures us as doing rather well in comparison with England,—in fact, it is implied that England is ten years behind us in its housing program! Now that will be news to Americans who have examined British theory and practice at first hand. Indeed, somebody must be wrong. What does the work under re-

view have to say about slum clearance and housing in Great Britain? "The most comprehensive policy . . . most ambitious programme . . . in the world" (p. 541). "Nowhere else . . . has the cause of better housing been advanced so eloquently . . ." (p. 553). "America's beginnings at slum clearance seem feeble in comparison" (p. 568). Thus, at least a dozen times in Chapter XXVII is British experience cited favorably. Interested students of housing comparisons might well read the *Survey Graphic* for October and December, 1936, "The Hands of Esau" by Edith Elmer Wood, and the letters which her article provoked. The question arises whether we are not as yet unaware of how much we might learn from countries like England, Denmark, Holland, and Sweden who do so many things so well. Does foreign democratic practice offer only a very little to stimulate the American mind and program? Is perfect democracy in housing just around our corner or a long way off?

With these questions in mind during the reading of Chapter XX on slum prevention through social control of causative factors, some students will consider too hopeful the cautiously ventured and conditioned suggestion that within two generations New York City will be cured of its slums. The "human attitudes," the "unreflective materialism and individualism," the "misplacement of values," discussed by the authors will probably not be so soon corrected "by an assiduous, well-reasoned, educational policy conducted through all the media of instruction, not merely the schools, to make all material possessions universally recognized as instrumental, rather than as ultimate, values" (p. 456 ff). We have not worked this concept into the consciousness of the growing child, but we could do it for every citizen, so the authors believe. The reviewer would

venture that we can do this only when we become more humble and willing to learn from others that democracy is not confined to the so-called "American system." And we are far, far away from humility in our adolescent self-confidence. What hundred-per-center could be made to believe that "the problem of the oldest, largest, and worst of our slums is the problem of public action, . . . that the field for private investment is on the edges and not at the center of existing slum areas?" That the authors recognize the basic philosophical and ethical involvements of the problem is clear because these are mentioned so often.

In the later chapters of the book the all-important matters of economics and government are taken up. The spectres of cost and investment constantly arise. "To house a low-income family today costs for the building alone about three times what it did a generation ago." For the worker, transportation costs in time and money can easily be too great to balance the advantages of living in outlying areas of decent housing. As for rent, among the neediest groups, differentials between family income and cost per room are Gordian knots, and tangled at that, almost as troublesome abroad as here in America.

Chapter XLI courageously handles the problem of government ownership, raising the question as to its advisability. There are colossal difficulties and handicaps in record-keeping; in legal and political strategy; in hazards of local pressure; in various incompetencies of personnel; and in other aspects. *If* that ten per cent of abnormal people who need institutional-

ization could be provided for, "the problem of rehousing the remainder would be enormously simplified." It seems to the authors (p. 841 ff) that "pending radical change in prevailing systems of thought and behavior, the function of government in the field of housing should be limited to research, provision for special classes of government employees, colonization of the handicapped, promotion, supervision, and the setting and maintenance of standards for private limited-dividend housing assisted by public loans or guarantees." If the government enters the field, it should confine itself to housing "those income groups which private capital . . . is quite unable to house," and such government operations, if undertaken, should focus on the neighborhood-unit principle, covering city blocks and open spaces at the very core of present slums. In the forty-second chapter, the thirty-eight suggestions as to future housing for New York City summarize the fine work represented in the two volumes far more adequately than is possible in a sketchy review such as this.

Dr. Ford and his helpers deserve the highest commendation for doing splendidly their part of the total task that the country must face and attack. The slum evil and housing problem involve an Augean program that will take herculean leadership in vision and action in the years ahead. Who can doubt the importance they place upon the need for technical training in city planning, architecture, and engineering; for more background in sociology, government, economics, and ethics; and for all of us, more character and open-minded leadership?

## A METHODOLOGY OF PSYCHO-SOCIAL INQUIRY

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BEHAVIOR, KNOWLEDGE, FACT. By Arthur F. Bentley. Bloomington, Indiana: Principia Press, 1935. 391 pp. \$3.50.

Behavior in its entirety is the field of both psychology and sociology. Viewed comprehensively, the present condition of research in this subject is little short of chaotic. The social sciences have not in fact been born, and psychology is still struggling in its swaddling clothes. There is not sufficient agreement concerning problems and methods, on the part of either psychologists or sociologists, to make solid progress possible, such as physics and biology may claim. The behavioral sciences have attempted to model themselves too closely on the older sciences. In consequence, they have failed properly to identify their subject-matter, or develop methods of inquiry suited to their problems, or establish a frame of observation whereby their researches may be ordered. Nor has a sound division of labor between psychology and sociology been worked out.

Bentley in effect offers a program for dealing with this situation. As a preliminary part of his task, he examines the current psychologies and shows that none of them has developed a frame of observation suited to behavioral problems. In particular, all are under the spell of the old "mind-language," with its postulation of minds, faculties, or capacities more or less independent of the external world, and all the gratuitous problems concerning the relations of "mind" and "object," man and man, organism and environment, arising from this approach. The behavioristic psychologies, dubbed mentaloid or neo-mentalistic by the author, are no less entangled than the others in

this situation. The author does not trouble to discuss the current sociologies, presumably because they contribute so little to a sound organization of behavioral research.

The constructive formulation rests on certain postulates concerning the social. (1) Social fact must be "directly and immediately observable." It must be characterized by visibility in the same general sense as are physical and vital facts. This rules out inference and abstraction as methods of determining the social, although interpretation in the sense of more adequate description is essential in behavioral as in physical and biological inquiry. (2) The social must be factual in the full scientific sense, that is, capable of being systematically organized with the "many facts of men's research," including physical and vital facts. (3) It "must be specifically 'behavioral' as distinct from either 'physical' or 'vital' in the same manner that these two last are specifically and scientifically distinct from each other."

The demonstration of social facts meeting these tests is then undertaken. The argument centers on the "conversational remark." This is a "speaking-heard," or "man speaking-man hearing." It is directly observable, visible in the scientific sense, and connected, spatially and durationally, with a wide range of similar facts. It is specifically behavioral: that is to say, it is in technical severance from physical and vital facts, since the observational techniques of physics and biology are not applicable to the perceptual and communicational activities comprised by the phenomenon. The conversational remark is a unitary, elemen-



tary, or indivisible fact, as much so as the elementary phenomena investigated by the physical and biological sciences. Different aspects or "parts" of it may be singled out for special study, but the conversational remark as such is not divisible into the activities of two different men, the intervening air waves, and other essential components. This phenomenon is called the *dicaud* (a derivative of the Latin words *dico* and *audio*). It is one species of a genus termed *communact*, of which other species are communications by script (or print), gesture, and possibly more subtle processes of 'thought-transference.'

But the *communact* is itself a selective observation. It refers to a larger whole—including objects, meanings, interests—of which it is phase or function. Such a whole is termed a *communicane*. It, too, must be observable in the particular instance to qualify as subject-matter of scientific inquiry. Any specific *communicane* is, in turn, a selective observation, being a component of a complex system of behavior shared by an entire population, and exhibiting wide extensions and durations.

This terminology is elaborated by way of explicating the proposed organization of behavioral inquiry. It is designed especially, however, to indicate a fruitful division of labor between psychology and sociology. These two sciences—as they arrive—will be the major subdivisions of this great field of inquiry, and they must coöperate *throughout its entire extent*. They will *not* concentrate, respectively, on the "individual" and the "social" phases of behavior, simply because such a specialization is not feasible. These words lack definition at present, but it is safe to say that, given coherent meanings, behavior is everywhere *both* individual and social,

and has been such from the time animal behavior appeared in the world.

Behavioral events may be so analyzed and classified, however, as to indicate a division of labor not too far out of line with current trends of psychological and sociological inquiry. This may be done in terms of (1) the *perceptane*, "any specific instance of the observable behavior of an-organism-in environment"; (2) the *personan*, "the behavioral participation of the 'separate' or 'individual' organism as phasal either to the *communicane* or to the *perceptane*, to be known as *C-personan* in the former case, and as *P-personan* in the latter"; and (3) the *objectan*, "the reference, as behavioral, of either *communicane* or *perceptane*, to be known as *C-objectan* in the former case, and as *P-objectan* in the latter."

Psychology may differentiate itself from sociology in concentrating upon *personans* and their organization. It will orient its studies toward the organism, thus coming into coöperative relations with biology; and toward the full behavioral situation, this entailing close, continuous collaboration with sociology. Attention will be given to all varieties of *perceptanes* and *objectans*, but will be concentrated more especially on the P classes. Sociology will focus on the *communicanes*, including the *communacts*, the *C-objectans* and the *C-personans*. Labor will thus be divided in terms of concentration areas, not separate fields of inquiry. As aforesaid, psychology and sociology will coöperate in studying the entire range of behavior. Although specializations within each of these sciences are essential, the author holds that all social problems without exception—for example, those pertaining to the state or to money, to cite his own illustrations—are behavioral problems, and must therefore be investigated by a complete combination of psychological

and sociological techniques, if a scientific knowledge of them is to be secured.

The behavioral sciences require a framework of observation suited to their problems. Such a 'frame of reference' may be called 'behavioral space-time.' The frameworks of physics and biology will not serve, although these will not be antipathetic to the requirements of psychology and sociology. The older sciences have been free to construct their space-times in accordance with their needs, as witness the liquidation of the Newtonian cosmology by the physics of relativity. The behavioral sciences may claim a like independence. They require a "behavioral space-time, framing observation in functional rather than in mechanistic terms, and presenting phenomena as aspects or phases of events, rather than in the disjunctions of part and whole, or of mechanistic cause and effect." Within such a framework, the observation of behavioral events—communacts, communicanes, personans, perceptanes, objectans, or whatever units may be agreed on—will be oriented and systematized.

Finally, the behavioral sciences, particularly sociology, must employ explicitly and continuously a two-fold construction: (1) "objectivized sociological observation and construction"; and (2) the "sociological orientation of the observational procedure." This means that sociology *cannot* free itself from "practical" interests, from a deep concern with "norms" and "values." Attempts hitherto to do this have piled failure on failure. Sociology not only has practical interests as its subject-matter, but it is itself charged with interests of this description. "Behaviors survey behaviors," and the surveying behavior is as much enmeshed in the communicanes, with their communacts and objectans (including purposes and valuations), as is

the behavior surveyed. Indeed, both are involved in much the *same* communicanes. Physics and biology are different in that their subject-matter is not behavior, so that "extrapolations" of physical and vital facts are possible. Even in their case, the distinction between the theoretical and the practical, between pure and applied science, has no ultimate significance.

Criticism on the basis of a review so general would be somewhat presumptuous. But attention may be directed to one feature of the analysis on which discussion is likely to center. Many will feel that Bentley has over-reacted against what he dubs the 'old mind-language,' even though he asserts his formulation assimilates what is legitimate in its connotations; and that he has, despite all his caution, patterned his methodology too closely after the physical and biological sciences. He makes *visibility* a criterion of the behavioral (including the social) or at least of the aspects susceptible of scientific treatment. While the term is used in a generalized sense as denoting *sense-perceptibility* and as allowing for special techniques and instruments of observation, it refers primarily to events that are perceptible to two or more observers, while excluding events that are not, so to speak, public property and hence not accessible to all who care to inspect them.

This would seem to leave outside the scope of the author's methods those phases of experience that are private to the individual, including the so-called organic sensations, emotions, feelings, beliefs and images. Yet these are co-terminous and functionally integrated with behavioral events themselves, including the communicanes with their component communacts, personans, perceptanes, and objectans. They want and are susceptible of the same *general* sort of direct inspection

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as behavioral phenomena, though observation must be by individual "subjects," and verification and interpretation require its own special methods, difficult as progress in this direction has proved to be. Overt behavior is meaningless apart from these aspects of experience. Bentley fully recognizes this, because he insists that meanings, values, objectives must be included in behavioral inquiry, and that these embrace "inner" as well as "outer" aspects of experience. He does not specify procedures for their direct and systematic study because he sees no way at present of bringing them within the range of *scientific* inquiry (with which he exclusively concerns himself in this volume).

This comment is intended to guard against indiscriminate attack the author's far-reaching contribution to the methodology of psycho-social research, and to indicate a further development such as would bring under scientific investigation the "inner" components of behavior and experience. The author's own basic postulates point the way. These mean, in effect, that not only is *direct observability* the criterion of fact in the scientific sense, *but that whatever is directly observable must be accepted as fact or subject-matter for scientific inquiry.* This brings "inner" no less than "outer" events within the range of scientific method. Moreover, phenomena of the two categories *are* in fact, and can

therefore be studied as, components of a single functional system, which satisfies another of the basic postulates. But visibility in any specific sense then becomes a *species* of observability, taking its place alongside other species of the same genus.

Those sharing this position can develop the author's construction to suit their requirements. His clear demonstration of specifically social fact (the *dicaud*), his postulation of a behavioral space-time, his proposed integration of physical, vital, and behavioral facts in a single system, his devastating criticisms of current psychological and sociological methods may be accepted largely as they stand. His terms—the *communacts*, *personans*, *objectans*, and others—may be adapted, if one wishes, to the study of "inner" as well as "outer" aspects of experience and behavior. Many, of course, will feel no need for any such revision.

All workers concerned with fundamental problems in this field will need to reckon with this volume. Entering sympathetically into the author's thought will sharpen one's appreciation of these problems and seriously challenge one's positions on them. In this reader's opinion, it stands in the front rank of contributions to the development of psycho-social inquiry.

#### "THE LUSTY PERIOD"

J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON

*University of North Carolina*

JEFFERSON IN POWER. By Claude G. Bowers. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936. 538 pp. \$3.75.

"I have sought to re-create, as flesh and blood, the characters of the drama, and such characters!—Jefferson and Hamilton, Marshall and Burr, Madison and

Monroe, John Randolph of Roanoke and Gouverneur Morris, Fisher Ames, Timothy Pickering, and Josiah Quincy."

Thus does Mr. Bowers state one of the fundamental purposes of his study of "the lusty period" covered in this work. He says further:

"Since some distinguished historians have written bitterly partisan interpretations of this period, out of the fullness of their fierce hate of Jefferson, it can scarcely be amiss, or in bad taste, for one who is frankly partial to Jeffersonian principles and policies to tell the story of these two administrations as he finds it luminously written in the record."

In all too brief a space I shall try to give my impressions of how well he has succeeded.

The publication of a Bowers' volume has come to be an event, not merely in "literary and historical circles," but—much more important—among the whole reading public of the United States. The present volume is a fine continuation of his *Jefferson and Hamilton*, and no more fitting—and complimentary—description of its general character can be made than to say that it is in the class of its predecessor. It has the same characteristics: brilliance of style and presentation, mastery of detail, clear and keen perception of underlying causes of opinion and action on the part of individuals and groups, excellent handling of new material, utter detestation of the ways that were dark and the tricks that were vain of the Federalist leaders of the Essex Junto sort, and shining through it all the admiration—almost adoration which the author feels for Thomas Jefferson. For Mr. Bowers clearly shares the feeling John Adams expressed, "I love Thomas Jefferson and always shall." And it is not in my heart or mind to blame or disagree.

No, Mr. Bowers cannot accurately be described as an objective historian, and, assuming that objective history is within the range of possibility, he would not be read so enthusiastically if he were. He makes no secret of his judgment of men and movements and frankly takes sides.

Again I feel no inclination towards dissent. But Mr. Bowers, partisan if you will, is a careful, accurate, and honest investigator, and erects for defenses of his position well-nigh impregnable fortifications of reliable sources, behind which he rests secure. And, granting his partisanship, it still remains a fact that in this volume is to be found the most accurate, and the least biased account of Jefferson's presidency that has yet appeared in print, just as his "Jefferson and Hamilton" was of the period which it covered.

Notable in the story is the picture of life at the capital. "Mayfair in the mud" is interestingly described; its "dinners, card-parties, teas, informal gatherings, and squeezes." But in the list Presidential levees are notably missing. Presently, after the Assembly was organized, balls began, and soon the races and the theatre furnished society with more occupation. Social storms, even in this muddy village, were not lacking, and Mr. Bowers gives a spirited account of the one in which Mr. Merry, the British minister, and his wife, privately described by the long-suffering Jefferson as "a virago who has already disturbed our harmony extremely," played leading parts.

In the account of Washington social life appear interesting characterizations of important individuals such as Turreau, the French minister, who made a practice of beating his wife, a jailor's daughter who had unwisely emulated Pocahontas and, going farther, had succeeded in getting her man, Marquis de Casa Yrugo, the Spanish minister; charming Dolly Madison, Mrs. Bayard Smith, the Gallatins, and a host of others. In the political story we find even more illuminating pictures of Hamilton, Burr, Timothy Pickering, James A. Bayard, Gouverneur Morris, John Breckinridge, George Cabot,

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William Plumer, John Quincy Adams, John Marshall, John Randolph of Roanoke, Joseph Nicholson, Monroe, Luther Martin, Stevens T. Mason, William B. Giles, Robert R. Livingston, Roger Griswold, Rufus King, George Clinton, and Manasseh Cutler, who, franker in his major interest than most of his New England clerical brethren of the Federalist persuasion, had exchanged his pulpit for a seat in Congress.

Covering the leading events and movements of the eight Jeffersonian years, special emphasis is paid to the administration program, the purchase of Louisiana, the course and character of administration, the question of removals from office, the process by which Federalist federal judges were intimidated into a pretense of official decency, the Burr conspiracy, Jeffersonian foreign policy, and the story of politics. The author thus sums up the achievements of those years:

"These were, on the whole, eight remarkably brilliant years. . . . They were years of unprecedented prosperity. The industrial life of the nation developed rapidly. The management of the finances was brilliantly successful. There was a complete absence of scandal in administration. The federal judiciary was purged of the indecencies that were destroying faith in its impartiality, integrity, or justice, though the partisan historian has smugly called this purgation an 'attack on the courts.' The acquisition, without the shedding of a drop of blood, of an empire from which many of the richest commonwealths of the nation have been carved, was a memorable and immortal triumph."

In my judgment, the greatest contribution of the book is to be found in its masterly and brilliant study of the course of national politics. Here is where Mr.

Bowers uses the best of his fresh material. He traces the attempts of Hamilton to maintain his leadership of his party, and says of his death:

"No Federalist ever after was to wear his mantle or to wield his mighty sword. The most scintillating of the congressional leaders of the party were as insects crawling on the earth, compared with Jefferson. The real leadership of the Federalists passed to John Marshall, a consummate, constant, and bitterly partisan politician, who fought with far-seeing cunning from behind the protecting shield of the Supreme Court."

Parenthetically, the description of Marshall as the presiding judge at the Burr trial is one of the most powerful things in the book.

The climax of power in the story is reached in tracing the course of the Federalist party from 1801 to 1809, and how the leaders ran to disgrace and oblivion. "We shall have to follow its leaders to secret conferences with the enemies of the Republic, as they skirt, where they do not cross the boundary line of treason; and we shall see them slinking from the secret sessions of the Senate to betray their country to the envoys of unfriendly Powers."

I have no particular quarrel with the Federalists for their secessionist proclivities, so fully and adequately described and reprobated by Mr. Bowers, nor even any criticism. But their record of hypocrisy, of sedition, of foul slanderings, of utter lack not only of patriotism but of common decency as displayed in their dealings with foreign powers, which were destined to reach the point of treason during the war of 1812, is such as to merit their damnation in history to the latest day. Only the lack of common decency

referred to must have prevented some of them from emulating Judas Iscariot.

No mere thousand words can adequately indicate the power and charm of this great book.

PREPARATION FOR MARRIAGE. By Ernest R. Groves.  
New York: Greenberg, 1936. 124 pp. \$1.50.

*Preparation for Marriage* by Ernest R. Groves, is the sort of book to hand to college students, boys and girls in business, and to our own sons and daughters when they begin to talk of marriage. The straight-forward common sense of Professor Groves' approach to the physical and psychological adjustments of the marriage relationship could only have been written by a man who understands youth and who speaks from his own rich experience.

While warning young people against morbid exaggeration of problems of health and heredity, this book does not minimize the need for knowledge of the background of each partner.

The two chapters on premarital examination are particularly valuable. Through college courses and other written material, many young people are asking for premarital examinations without knowing exactly what it is that they want and physicians often vary in their conception of what this examination should include.

The last chapter of the book has a particularly apt heading—Building The Domestic Program. A good deal of ground is covered in this chapter from the when and how of the wedding through finances and budget making, to religious understanding, legal qualifications and attitudes toward life.

During the last twenty years there have been many books on marriage and problems of married life that stress the dangers and difficulties of marriage. It is most encouraging, therefore, to have Pro-

fessor Groves state, "Marriage is less difficult than the single life."

This is the book for which we have been waiting—safe and sane, and modern in its entire treatment of marriage.

GLADYS GAYLORD.

*Maternal Health Association.*

STATE ADMINISTRATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA. By James Karl Coleman. New York: Columbia University Press, 1935. 299 pp. \$3.50.

In the Middle Ages it was fashionable to base theories of monarchy upon the premise of a "godly prince." The premise granted, logic impelled the medieval political theorists to conclude that the ideal government was that of an absolute monarch unlimited save by his conscience. It took several centuries for the premise to be undermined by the ungodliness of the run-of-the-mill prince. With the premise gone, the way was cleared for inroads to be made on absolutism.

Professor Coleman, in agreement with the current fashion among students of public administration, urges increased powers for the governor of South Carolina. The godliness or ungodliness of the present governor, of his predecessors, and of the typical governor of other southern states is a question which Dr. Coleman does not face. Yet, as in the Middle Ages, the conclusion that a man should have great powers follows only if that man is likely to use those powers for the public interest. Coleman himself calls attention to the abuse by recent South Carolina governors of their absolute pardon power, and yet the relation of that abuse to the major proposal for conferring greater powers on the governor escapes his vision completely.

The reviewer would dislike to be thought unfashionable; he, too, subscribes to the general proposition that since the voters do in fact hold the governor responsible for State administration, the

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governor should have powers sufficient to enable him to discharge that responsibility. Popular election of State officials performing primarily administrative functions, the absence of any integrated system of budgetary or personnel control, the multiplication of boards and commissions, and the attempts of the legislature to make administrative agencies so directly dependent on it as to render impossible gubernatorial supervision of their work are all expressions of the American tradition that diffusion of governmental powers is the people's chief insurance against tyranny by their public servants. In the past this frictional system of government has worked well as a protection for American liberties precisely because it has made the government itself unworkable. Increasingly, however, as the State has entered into new spheres of regulation and service there has developed a soundly grounded popular demand for administrative efficiency. Since efficiency requires that governmental gears must mesh rather than clash, and since such synchronization cannot be attained under the frictional system inherited from the eighteenth century, it would appear necessary to supplant the State's hydra-headed administrative structure with a hierarchical structure pyramiding up to a real chief executive.

That administrative efficiency is an end which is attainable only through some such structure as that suggested above (and more fully in Coleman's book), is no longer a vigorously protested proposition. But administrative efficiency is only half the story. The other half is that efficiency should be exerted in behalf of the public,—not diverted for the private benefit of the governor or of the special interests with which he may be associated. Efficiency and responsibility are complementary ends in American States. Efficiency alone

might logically call for dictatorship; responsibility alone—in the sense of protection of the people's freedom—might mean anarchy or that near-anarchy which diffusion of governmental powers can cause. Professor Coleman has discharged but half his task by devising a scheme for promoting administrative efficiency which rests on an inarticulate premise either of the godliness of the governor or of the adequacy of democratic controls over him.

But the criticism above should not be interpreted as a disparagement of the book's handling of the problems of administrative efficiency. To each of the major subjects of State activity is devoted a chapter in which are described the present administrative organization, the nature and history of the activity itself, and the proposal for administrative reform. Particularly gratifying is the attention given to the analysis of functions and problems in the various fields. Coleman does not construct a plan for structural reform as if it were to operate in a vacuum; it is, he knows, a plan for South Carolina, and he wisely diagnoses before prescribing. Not only to those interested in the administrative set-up for handling (for example) labor and public education, but to those desirous of informing themselves as to the status in South Carolina of workmen's compensation, hours of labor, conciliation in labor disputes, illiteracy, Negro education, consolidated schools, cost of public schools, and similar topics, Coleman's book will be a boon. These compact discussions of policy are not always clearly linked to the specific problems of administrative reorganization, but few readers would wish them omitted.

Readers haunted by ghosts of the less admirable Southern governors will not care to worship at the shrine of administrative efficiency with Professor Coleman. Those, though, who deny the existence of

such ghosts will find *State Administration in South Carolina* a well-written, able treatise, the conclusions of which, but for the modesty of its author, they might accept on faith. Some of us are pretty sure those ghosts do exist, and will exist in the future; we'd be willing to laugh at them, though, if Professor Coleman had given us a practical formula for their control.

JAMES W. FESLER.

*University of North Carolina.*

A PROGRAM FOR LAND USE IN MINNESOTA. By O. B. Jesness and R. I. Nowell. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1935. 328 pp. \$2.50.

Every state has its problem areas. The one of greatest concern in Minnesota is the cut-over, glacial area including fourteen north-eastern counties. This report represents a concerted attack by trained scientists, both social and physical, on what to do with this area. Directed by Doctors O. B. Jesness and L. C. Gray, a group of 42 trained workers studied the physical, political, social, and economic characteristics of the area, and upon the basis of their findings made specific recommendations for change. The group of workers included, foresters, agronomists, engineers, tax authorities, accountants, geologists, cartographers, school men, political scientists, economists, and sociologists. What a time the directors must have had in keeping peace among this large body of professional workers!

Widespread tax delinquency, low standards of living, sparse population with high unit costs of school and other governmental services, and large percentages of residents on relief, were among the reasons which contributed to the study being made. As a first step towards a solution for the problem of what to do in or with the area, the land was classified and restrictive zoning recommended in

order that land would be used only for those purposes for which it was best suited. County by county, maps were prepared showing detailed land classification in two zones, conservation and agricultural. Conservation zones, including 68 per cent of the land in the 14 counties, were to be used primarily for recreation, wild life preservation, and forests. By counties, the percentage of land to be placed in conservation zones ranged from 96 to 30, and for agricultural, from 70 to 4 per cent. Extensive movement of farm families from the conservation areas, and adjustments in local government would be necessary, if shifts in land use were made as recommended. Both of these possibilities were carefully considered by those making the study and suggestions made for carrying them into effect. Possibly, a factor not given sufficient consideration was the personal reactions of residents to the proposed changes.

Fundamentally, this report is a refutation of the charge, oft repeated, that social scientists study situation after situation, but never make concrete suggestions, nor outline definite procedures for action. Criticism of this kind certainly cannot be made of this study, and the supporting evidence for the proposals made are convincing. Increasingly in the future will such studies probably be made in problem areas.

CLIFTON J. BRADLEY.

*University of Kentucky.*

HANDBOOK ON SOCIAL WORK ENGINEERING. AN OUTLINE. By June Purcell Guild and Arthur Alden Guild. Richmond, Virginia: Whittet & Shepperson, 1936. 135 pp. \$1.50.

"Know your city," say June and Arthur Guild in their *Handbook on Social Work Engineering* to social and health workers, and to all concerned with the betterment of life and living conditions in cities of

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today. And what is more important, they tell us what we need to learn, how to find our facts and what we may do with our knowledge as we get it, all in 135 pages of readable text.

Social work is yet very much a conglomeration of institutions, agencies and projects, each initiated by some enthusiast intent upon a particular problem, and each largely concerned with its own perpetuation and enlargement.

The Guilds focus our attention upon the problems of crime, poverty, and disease which face cities north and south, east and west, large and small alike, though in varying proportion and degree.

They urge us to measure and analyze those problems, locate their focal points, and study the conditions in which they thrive. They are specific in their suggestions of facts to be gathered, and items to be tabulated. And they demonstrate the wisdom gained by their long experience when they stress the importance of a wide dissemination of this information among people of influence and leadership in the community.

Their outline of social work engineering proceeds to discuss institutions, agencies, and techniques in the light of problems and needs, an approach which is logical but all too seldom used in reality.

They propose a social inventory, looking forward to a gradual standardization in its content with an ultimate goal of an appraisal form for other fields of social work similar to that developed by the American Public Health Association for public health. Their *Handbook on Social Work Engineering* is primarily an attempt to outline such an inventory and to help pave the way for such an appraisal.

It is a useful and stimulating volume.

RAYMOND F. CLAPP.

*Indianapolis Community Fund.*

THE MAKING OF MODERN IRAQ. By Henry A. Foster. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935. 319 pp. \$4.00.

This volume is one of numerous publications on the very old and interesting country, Iraq (Mesopotamia), which is traditionally believed to be the cradle of the race, the human habitat where history dawned. The admission of Iraq to the League of Nations in 1932 marked its freedom from the mandatory relationship of Great Britain that had been established after the World War and gave this land between the Tigris and the Euphrates the rank of "majority" among the political communities of the world.

This book is important because it tells an important story. Foster discusses, in careful manner, the background of the emergence of this traditionally old and historically recent region, the Arabs and the Iraqi, the control of the West and the revolt of the East, the difference between colony and mandate, how Britain became the guardian in Iraq, and the later struggle for oil in which the northern part of the country abounds in this land of fabled soil to which Herodotus, Strabo, and Pliny made reference. Here, according to tradition, was planted the tree of knowledge in the Garden of Eden; here Adam and Eve ate the forbidden fruit; here was the fiery furnace of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego; here Ur of the Chaldees, where Abraham lived in (what is now believed) urban splendor; here the faiths of Judaism and Christianity are said to have had their origins; here the Tower of Babel; here the capitals and centers of culture associated with the names of the Sargons, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, Hammurabi, and Harun-ar-Rashid. It is a useful story of the youngest government in one of the oldest lands of the race, with engaging chapters also on European convergence and American

rescue, western control, treaty relationships, administration by the British before Iraq entered the League in 1932 and the present frame of government in Iraq. Especially important also is a comprehen-

sive bibliography which will be very useful to students of the fascinating country.

EDGAR W. KNIGHT.

*University of North Carolina.*

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- THE TENEMENTS OF CHICAGO. By Edith Abbott. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936. 505 pp. \$5.00.
- NATIONAL ECONOMIC SECURITY. By Arthur B. Adams. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936. 328 pp. \$2.50.
- SO YOU'RE GOING TO A PSYCHIATRIST. By Elizabeth I. Adamson. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1936. 263 pp. \$2.50.
- CIVILIZATION AS TOLD TO FLORENCE DRAKE. By Thomas Wildcat Alford. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936. 203 pp. \$2.50.
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- SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS. By Lloyd Vernor Ballard. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936. 514 pp. \$4.00.
- ZONING: THE LAWS, ADMINISTRATION, AND COURT DECISIONS DURING THE FIRST TWENTY YEARS. By Edward M. Bassett. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1936. 275 pp. \$3.00.
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- PERSONALITY: ITS DEVELOPMENT AND HYGIENE. By Winifred V. Richmond. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1937. 279 pp. \$2.00.
- SUPERVISION IN SOCIAL CASE WORK. By Virginia P. Robinson. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936. 199 pp. \$2.50.
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- THE NATIONALIZING OF BUSINESS 1878-1898. By Ida M. Tarbell. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936. 313 pp. \$4.00.
- CHICAGO COMMONS THROUGH FORTY YEARS. By Graham Taylor. Chicago: Chicago Commons Association, 1936. 322 pp. \$1.50.
- THE GANG. By Frederic M. Thrasher. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936. 605 pp. \$4.00.
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- A CORRELATED CURRICULUM. A REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CORRELATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH. By Ruth Mary Weeks, Chairman. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936. 326 pp. \$2.00.
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- CURRENT SOCIAL PROBLEMS. By William Withers. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1936. 302 pp. \$2.80.
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- MOSLEM WOMEN ENTER A NEW WORLD. By Ruth Frances Woodsmall. New York: Round Table Press, Inc., 1936. 432 pp. \$3.00.
- THE WORKING MAN'S TAX BILL. A RESEARCH STUDY OF THE ACTUAL EXPENDITURES OF THREE THRIFTY NEW ENGLAND FAMILIES. Reprinted from *The Providence Journal and Evening Bulletin*, Providence, R. I. 56 pp.
- GOVERNMENT AID DURING THE DEPRESSION TO PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL AND OTHER SERVICE WORKERS. Washington, D. C.: Works Progress Administration, 1936. 75 pp.
- TOBACCO REGULATION IN COLONIAL MARYLAND. By Vertrees J. Wyckoff. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1936. 228 pp. \$2.25.
- THE SOCIAL WORKERS' DICTIONARY. Edited by Erle Fiske Young and Bessie Averne McClenahan. Los Angeles, California: Social Work Technique, 1936. 71 pp. \$3.00.
- CONSUMPTION AND STANDARDS OF LIVING. By Carle C. Zimmerman. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1936. 602 pp.
- NEUTRALITY AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY. By Sir Alfred Zimmern, William Edward Dodd, Charles Warren, Edwin DeWitt Dickinson. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936. 277 pp. \$2.50.

(Concluded from page 427)

Angeles, on "Science of Economics from the Viewpoint of Socio-Legal Economics," and Dr. C. W. Topping, University of British Columbia, on "The Engineering Approach to the Delinquent and the Criminal." The Society's last session dealt with the problem of the *Introductory Course in Sociology*. Dr. Richard T. LaPiere, Stanford University, offered his views as to the "Content and Technique of Teaching the Introductory Course," and Professor Carl E. Dent, Washington State College, presented statistical and interpretative data concerning the "Status of the Introductory Course in Sociology on the Pacific Coast."

In order (1) to assure a more representative and democratic procedure, (2) to stimulate intelligent participation, (3) to foster a livelier discussion, and (4) to overcome current singularistic presentations by the major speakers, the program chairman had arranged panel discussions. The panel members, having had access to the papers in advance, raised pertinent, pointed, and penetrating issues for consideration in every session except the presidential addresses. Although all the papers read will appear in *Sociology and Social Research* in abridged form, unfortunately the significant issues arising from the observations and reactions of the panel discussion members and the contributions of other members of the Society cannot be presented for lack of space.

Officers for 1937 are: President, George B. Mangold, University of Southern California; Vice-presidents, Fred R. Yoder, Washington State College, and Glen E. Hoover, Mills College; Secretary-Treasurer, Samuel Haig Jameson, University of Oregon; publications editor, Emory S. Bogardus, University of Southern California. Two vacancies on the Advisory Council because of expiration of terms were filled by the election of Charles N. Reynolds, Stanford University, and Elon H. Moore, University of Oregon.

Invitation was extended to the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association to meet jointly with the Pacific Sociological Society and the Pacific Coast Economic Association at its next annual meeting. Upon the invitation of Pomona College delegation, Claremont was chosen as the place for the ninth annual session.

The members of the Society will be notified later by letter as to the problems considered by the society at its business session.

SAMUEL HAIG JAMESON, *Secretary-Treasurer, University of Oregon.*